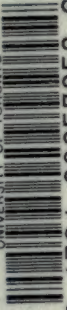


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THE ARCHITECTURE
OF THE
PALAZZO BORGHESE

BY

HOWARD HIBBARD

ERRATA

- p. 15, paragraph 4, line 1: for p. 12 read p. 14
p. 17, line 3: for p. 14 read p. 16
p. 18, paragraph 3, line 1: for p. 15 read p. 17
p. 28, paragraph 2, line 7: for pp. 26-27 read pp. 25-26
p. 32, line 3: for pp. 14 read p. 16
p. 33, paragraph 2, line 8: for pp. 22-24 read pp. 23-24
p. 50, line 4: for p. 11 read p. 13
p. 55, paragraph 3, line 8: for XXVII, 8 read XXVII, 9
p. 68 note 1, line 3: for p. 11 read p. 13
p. 83 note 1: for p. 21 read p. 20
p. 86, line 6: for p. 84 read pp. 83-84
p. 92, LXXVI, 1 line 10: for p. 17 read p. 18
p. 109, fourth line from bottom: for p. 88 read p. 94
p. 131 note 8: for note 6 read note 5
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Unless otherwise stated, the place is Rome.

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- AB: Archivio Borghese (see p. 106).
- Ackerman: James S. Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere*, Vatican City, 1954 (Studi e Documenti per la Storia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano, III).
- Anonymous 1660: *Opere di diversi architetti, pittori, scultori, et altri bellingegni fatti in Roma. . .*, 1660, *Bib. Vat. Cod. Urb. lat.*, 1707 (Xerox copy at Avery Library, Columbia University, and available through University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan.)
- ASR: Archivio di Stato, Rome (see p. 106).
- ASRSP: *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*.
- ASV: Archivio Segreto Vaticano (see p. 106).
- Baglione: Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori scultori et architetti. . .*, Rome, 1642.
- Bufalini map: Franz Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Giulio III: la pianta di Roma di Leonardo Bufalini del 1551. . .*, Rome, 1911.
- Cafisch: Nina Cafisch, *Carlo Maderno*, Munich, 1934.
- Caravatti: Francesco Caravatti, *Viggiù nella storia e nell'arte*, Varese, 1925.
- Coolidge: John Coolidge, "The Villa Giulia," *The Art Bulletin*, XXV, 1943, pp. 177-225.
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- Ferrerio: Pietro Ferrerio, *Palazzi di Roma de più celebri architetti*, Rome, n.d.
- Forcella: Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma*, Rome, 1869-1872.
- Giovannoni: Gustavo Giovannoni, *Saggi sulla architettura del rinascimento*, Milan, 1935.
- JPK: *Jahrbuch der (königlichen) preussischen Kunstsammlungen*.
- JSAH: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*.
- Lafréry—see Dupérac.
- Lanciani: Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, Rome, 1902-1913.
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- Tomei: Pietro Tomei, "Contributi d'archivio: un elenco dei palazzi di Roma del tempo di Clemente VIII," *Palladio*, III, 1939, pp. 163-174, 219-230, vi.
- Vasari: Giorgio Vasari, *Le opere*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878-1885.
- Venturi: Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1901-1940.

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Postscript.

The manuscript was essentially completed in 1958; I have tried to bring the work up to date by making minor revisions and corrections to include important publications through early 1961.

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July, 1961

INTRODUCTION

The Palazzo Borghese is the great private palace of the Roman Counter Reformation. Like the Farnese palace before it and the Barberini after, it stands alone for reasons of size and architectural style. But whereas the other two buildings are associated with some of the greatest names in Roman architecture—Sangallo, Michelangelo, Maderno, Borromini, Bernini—, the Palazzo Borghese has always been attributed to little-known, and, truth to say, mediocre architects.

Because its history seemed clear, the palace has never received serious attention. There was universal agreement that it was begun in 1590 by Cardinal Pedro Deza and that Martino Longhi il Vecchio was the designer. Little was known of the architecture of this period, still less was known of Longhi, and the improbability of his designing such a palace was consequently not realized. Tradition rested on firmer ground for the Borghese epoch. It was known that Flaminio Ponzio continued the construction under Paul V, although just what had been built before and what was added remained vague. It was thought that Ponzio or Maderno completed the palace toward the Tiber ca. 1613 and that Carlo Rainaldi designed the garden and Tiber loggia late in the century. This is the sum of our previous knowledge.

The present study is based on complete building records of the Borghese period. Through them the date and extent of Rainaldi's renovation is revealed. More important, the documents show the steady rise of the building between 1605 and 1615. Negatively, they tell exactly what had been built before the period of Borghese ownership. But the surviving documents tell even more. Through them it was possible to reconstruct some of the earlier history of the palace, and the story that emerged was quite different from the accepted tradition. From scraps of building documents, workers' contracts, and title deeds, it soon appeared that nothing whatsoever was built in the year 1590: the palace was already there. In fact, much of the present building was in existence even before 1586, the year in which Cardinal Deza bought the property.

The cortile of the Borghese palace is acknowledged to be one of the grandest and most beautiful in Rome. The fact that it is such a work made it all the more remarkable as a design by the tradition-bound Martino Longhi. The striking contrast between this court and Longhi's other works was the initial reason for my investigation of the palace.

While the importance of the cortile is easily recognized, the façade of the palace does not communicate its significance so readily. It too is unique. But as a work of the very late sixteenth century it is old-fashioned and even odd. A date earlier than 1590 changes this. Every decade, every year it can be pushed back increases its historical importance. The date, the significance, and the great architect of the Borghese façade were the most surprising revelations that the palace had in store.

The work that follows is divided into two main parts. The first is concerned with the pre-Borghese palace and the discussion is chiefly devoted to façades, without and within. In Part II the extensive additions made by the Borghese are considered. There the palace will be seen to develop from an unfinished block with two contrasting exteriors into a consciously planned complex that afforded a number of calculated vistas. In many ways this building is a remarkable document for the history of Roman architecture. In its beginnings it was a progressive palace of the Late Renaissance or Mannerist period. Under the Borghese this character underwent a change, and the greater part of the structure was built in what is often called the Early Baroque style. Finally, some of the palace took on a truly Baroque character under Carlo Rainaldi. As a result, the visitor, standing before the Mannerist façade, looks through a scenographic court of the Early Baroque into a Late Baroque garden. In spite of this variety of style it seemed wisest to eschew the terminological problems involved in words such as "Mannerist" and "Baroque" in favor of a careful analysis of the significant stylistic features of the palace.

No attempt has been made to chronicle the various small houses and properties near the palace that were once owned by the Borghese and used for their servants, warehouses, and other purposes: by the end of the seventeenth century the family owned the entire area. A more serious omission may be felt to be the lack of consistent treatment of the interior decoration. In the time at my disposal it seemed impossible to do all of the paintings justice; moreover, some of the surviving decoration is discouragingly second-rate. I have instead confined my notice to paintings for which I happened to find documents. These are cited for the benefit of future investigators.

The text, then, is restricted to a discussion of the architecture. Many of the old problems presented by the palace have been solved or put in a new light as a result of new documents and observations. But just because of this more reliable information, in several crucial instances we now have uncertainty where before there seemed to be none. In addition to new questions of dating and authorship there are other unsolved problems. One of the most pressing is the precise manner in which the palace was used and lived in at the different stages of its existence. Another is the influence of such specific practical demands upon its planning. The latter calls for a detailed investigation of many palaces, and it is to be hoped that monographs such as this will eventually make such a study possible.

During the course of my studies I collected a considerable amount of miscellaneous information concerning the two architects who traditionally have been held responsible for the palace: Martino Longhi il Vecchio and Flaminio Ponzio. It seemed worth while to present this in appendices to the text, even though some of its usefulness will disappear upon the publication of Dr. Hess's eagerly-awaited commentary to Baglione's *Lives*.

PART I

THE PALAZZO DEL GIGLIO-DEZA

CHAPTER I

THE PALAZZO DEL GIGLIO: THE FAÇADE

I. — TOPOGRAPHY AND EARLY HISTORY.

The Palazzo Borghese is situated near the Tiber in the region of Rome known as the Campo Marzio, an ancient monumental center of the city (Figs. 1 and 2).¹ During the Middle Ages, the northern and eastern edges of this area became almost entirely deserted; even at the beginning of the sixteenth century it was only sparsely settled and contained mainly clusters of orchards and vineyards.² Through this rustic area the present Via di Ripetta connecting the important Porta del Popolo with the river harbor of the Ripetta was rebuilt by Leo X (1513-21) (Fig. 1, no. 493).³ The region derived its chief characteristics from these bustling ports of entry, and the area around the Ripetta must have been quite similar to small commercial waterfronts of our own time. Near the Ripetta end of the palace site was a lumberyard, since wood was one of the important products that docked there.⁴ In addition, the visual character of the place was formed by groups of customs sheds and merchants' stalls. Just behind the port was Schiavonia, a disreputable cluster of houses and shacks that had been built in the later fifteenth century by displaced Illyrians.⁵ This infamous area, part of which went under the name of the Ortaccio,⁶ was a favored residence of prostitutes;

¹ See the description of Strabo, 5, 3, 8: H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, II, London, 1923 (The Loeb Classical Library), pp. 606 f.; S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London, 1929, pp. 91 ff.; and F. Castagnoli, C. Cecchelli, G. Giovannoni, and M. Zocca, *Topografia e urbanistica di Roma*, Bologna, 1958, *passim*.

² Romano, I, pp. 6 f. Farther south in the *rione* was the center of habitation; cf. F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome. . .*, VII, 2, London, 1900, pp. 772 ff.

³ Castagnoli, *et al.*, pp. 507 f. Early in the century this entire area became a residential quarter of artisans and artists; cf. Renzo U. Montini and R. Averini, *Palazzo Baldassini e l'arte di Giovanni da Udine*, Rome, 1957, pp. 9 ff.

⁴ Cf. Docs. 1, 2, *et al.*, which mention the "cortile della legna" near the site of the Borghese palace. An *avviso* of 12 December 1609 (*Urb. lat.* 1077, fol. 619) speaks of a plan to move the debarkation of wood to S. Spirito across the river, probably because the Borghese were usurping the old lumberyard. (For the references to documents, *avvisi*, etc., see pp. 106 ff. below.) The new site found for the lumberyards in 1614-15 was opposite S. M. Porta Paradisi (Orbaan, p. 222; Gasparo Alveri, *Della Roma in ogni stato*, II, Rome, 1664, p. 64; it is clearly visible on the Nollimap.)

⁵ The settlement took place under Sixtus IV (1471-84; Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, p. 773). Other foreigners also made their residence in this neighborhood. A document of 13 May 1609 (AB-4168) mentions a ". . . casa dove stanno li Polacchi verso la Piazza del Monte d'Oro."

⁶ These were gardens formerly belonging to the Chigi (Pio Pecchai, *Roma nel cinquecento*, Bologna, 1948, p. 466; cf. P. Romano, *Roma nelle sue strade. . .*, Rome, (1949?), *s.v.* Ortaccio.

for a time it was their only legal place of business.⁷ The ill fame of the neighborhood did not stem wholly from this; more unsavory was the open sewer that ran until 1570 from the Trevi fountain to the Ortaccio.⁸ It was in this unlikely spot, a short distance from the river, that the palace was begun that ultimately became famous as the Palazzo Borghese.

The Palazzo Borghese was built over a long period of time, but its extensions were always governed by the irregular boundaries of the site (Fig. 1). This distinctive city block is found on the mid-sixteenth century Bufalini map in almost the same shape it has today (Fig. 2). It is bounded toward the Tiber by the Via di Ripetta, while its other short end gives onto the present Largo Fontanella di Borghese, a widening of the street that runs to the Piazza di Spagna under the name of the Via dei Condotti. Between these short ends of the block is the side that became the long façade of the palace, on what are now the Via Borghese and Piazza Borghese (Fig. 1, no. 452). The other two sides of the site, of much less interest for our story, are those on the Via dell'Arancio (no. 454) and the Via di Monte d'Oro. These two streets meet at the northeast corner of the block where they run into the little Piazza di Monte d'Oro (no. 455), center of the old Ortaccio.

This city block took its final form during the mid-sixteenth century when the Via dei Condotti was cut through from the present Piazza di Spagna to the Tiber.⁹ The result, visible on the Bufalini map of 1551, was a little island of land on the site of the façade block of the present palace (Fig. 2). There the street ran by property of Cardinal Giovanni Poggio (1493–1556), formerly owned by Duke Orazio Farnese.¹⁰ On 6 May 1560 Poggio's heirs sold the entire site, including a palace, to another Bolognese, Monsignor Tommaso del Giglio, for ∇ 6,800 (Doc. 1).¹¹ The document of sale refers to one palace only, near the Ripetta.

⁷ Pecchiai, *op. cit.*, p. 302; Romano, I, pp. 84 ff. In the first half of the century many were registered on or by the block that became the palace site. Thus "nella strada dietro al duca Oratio" (Romano, p. 89) refers to the property of Duke Orazio Farnese discussed below, and in note 10. In the deliberations of 1570 concerning a new *ospizio* for poor Slavic women it was suggested that the new building be erected in "via detta Schiavonia, dove al presente è deputato il Serraglio delle pubbliche meretrici. . ." (Lanciani, IV, p. 170). An *avviso* of 12 September 1573 (*Urb. lat.* 1043, fol. 325 v) states: "Si pigliano tutte le Cortigiane uscite dell'Hortaccio, et anco tutte l'altre di dishonesta vita, che saranno costrette di habitare in detto Luogo, ò, vero partissi di Roma." See also the *avvisi* printed by Ermete Rossi in *Roma*, X, 1932, pp. 49 f., Romano, *Roma nelle sue strade. . .*, s.v. Ortaccio, and Pastor, IX, pp. 860 f.

⁸ Lanciani, III, pp. 236 f.

⁹ Under Paul III (1534–50); in 1544 it was already being straightened (Lanciani, II, p. 234).

¹⁰ Documents in AB-306, no. 26, 1; cf. note 7 above. Lanciani, II, p. 234, records that the palace was appropriated by the Farnese in 1544; a document of 21 July 1544 records payment to ". . . messer Jacomo Meleghino per tanti ne ha spesi per ordinare li giardini della casa dell'Ill.mo signor Horatio Farnese appresso San Rocco. . ." (Léon Dorez, *La cour du pape Paul III*, II, Paris, 1932, p. 304; other small payments are recorded on pp. 307–08). The sale to Poggio took place on 7 August 1549 (notary G. B. Gilus: AB-306, no. 26, 1; AB-6095 ter, fol. 1 v; cf. Dorez, I, p. 91 note 1).

¹¹ See p. 107 below for the value of the scudo (∇). Tommaso was the son of Giovanni del Giglio (AB-306, no. 26, 5). He was in Rome by 1551, when he is recorded as supporting the projected Gesù with a donation of ∇ 2,000 (Pio Pecchiai, *Il Gesù di Roma*, Rome, 1952, p. 10). A notice of 1558

This palace is the one shown on the Bufalini map and it can still be seen on the Tempesta map of 1593 (Figs. 2 and 33). But another palace must soon have been begun, for in a deed of 1566 del Giglio gave two nephews a "new palace" on that site (Doc. 8).¹²

It may be possible to make the date of the new palace even more precise. Del Giglio bought the old palace and the rest of the block in May 1560. In October 1561 he became Bishop of Sora;¹³ he left Rome in the summer of 1562.¹⁴ In 1562–1563 he attended the closing sessions of the Council of Trent,¹⁵ and his activity

is in Forcella, V, p. 176, no. 495. In 1560, and probably before, he served as *abbreviatore de parco maggiori* (Doc. I). This office, of which there were twelve incumbents, retailed at over ∇ 4,500 (see Paolo Piccolomini, "Diario romano di Niccolò Turinozzi [anni 1558–1560]," ASRSP, XXXII, 1909, p. 26). On 24 October 1561 he was made Bishop of Sora (ASV, *Arch. Consist.*, Acta Miscell. 19, fol. 297). He was not connected with the Roman Gigli family, whose ancestry is traced by Giacinto Gigli in his *Memoria. . .* (Vat. lat. 8717, fols. 549 ff.). A life of del Giglio is found in Giovanni Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, IV, 1784, pp. 154 ff. Presumably of the same family was a Marc'Antonio del Giglio, canon of the cathedral of Bologna from 1553–54, when he died (Giovanni Nicolò Alidosi, *Li canonici della chiesa di Bologna. . .*, Bologna, 1616, p. 38). The family must have been a respected one, for in addition to an "Andrea de Gigli" who was an *anziano* of the city in 1520 and 1522, an "Ercole dal Giglio" was *anziano* in 1540, as was Antonio Maria del Giglio. The latter, who was again *anziano* in 1546 and 1560, is listed as *Cavaliere* (Alidosi, *I signori anziani consoli e gonfalonieri. . . della città di Bologna*, Bologna, 1670, *passim*).

¹² Donations of 1564 and 1566 are repeatedly mentioned in the later documents of the inheritance dispute (Docs. 7 and 8), but the 1566 deed has not come to light. Since the deed of 23 December 1564 is repeated verbatim in a document of 14 July 1571 (AB-306, no. 26, 5—notary M. A. Carcerius of Sora), and since it does not mention any property in Campo Marzio, the 1566 document must have been the one that recorded the donation. Of the two nephews to whom the property was given, Giovanni Battista seems to have been a civil servant, and is listed on the papal payroll of 1562 under the heading "Diversi maggiori," along with such men as the architects Pirro Ligorio and Sallustio Peruzzi (T. R. von Sichel, *Ein ruolo di famiglia des Papstes Pius IV*, Innsbruck, p. 38 [offprint from the *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Osterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XIV, 1893, pp. 537 ff.]). For the other nephew, Marcantonio, see p. 37, note 1 below. Both were sons of an Ercole del Giglio, brother of Tomasso's father Giovanni, who is presumably the man mentioned in note 11 above.

Only the old Farnese-Poggio palace is shown on the "Salvestro Peruzzi" map, but the new palace is recognizable on both the Cartaro map of 1576 (Fig. 3) and the Du Pérac-Lafréry map of 1577 (Fig. 4). (The "Peruzzi" map is in E. Rocchi, *Le piante iconografiche e prospettiche di Roma*, Turin/Rome, 1902, Tav. XXI. The authorship of Peruzzi is thrown in doubt by features on the map that must be later than 1567, the year in which he presumably left Rome.)

¹³ See note 11 above.

¹⁴ He was still in Rome on 20 July 1562 (ASR, *Archivio del Tribunale del Archivio dei Notari Capitolini*, Atti di G. Reydetus, 6189, fols. 509–510). He was active in Rome until that time, and appears in documents of 23 February, 5 March, 18 April, and 24 May of that year (*ibid.*, Atti di L. Reydetus, 6188, fols. 295, 447–448, and ASV, Armadio XXX, *Divers. Camer.*, 209, fol. 76 v, which is a *laissez passer* for his baggage to Trent). On 15 March 1563 del Giglio rented the old Farnese-Poggio palace to Cardinal Pisani (ASR, *Archivio del Tribunale del Archivio dei Notari Capitolini*, Atti di G. Reydetus, 6191, fol. 556).

¹⁵ He arrived on 14 October 1562 and was still there on 15 July 1563 (ASV, Schedario Garrampi, 62, fol. 153). The Council closed on 4 December 1563, but by then del Giglio had left; his name is not on the list of signatures appended to the closing session (Judoci Le Plat, *Canones, et decreta sacrosancti. . . concilii Tridentini. . .*, Antwerp, 1779, pp. 330 ff. Del Giglio's arrival is recorded in *idem*, *Monumentum ad historiam concilii Tridentini. . .*, VII, Louvain, 1787, p. 341).

in Sora afterward kept him in that city.¹⁶ This being the case, it seems very likely that the palace in Rome was begun by 1561, since it is improbable that del Giglio would begin a palace after moving out of the city. He must have bought the property from Poggio's heirs in 1560 with the intention of building a new palace on the new street running to the Piazza di Spagna. The palace was probably planned in 1560, and work may have begun soon afterward.

A document of December 1566 seems to show that work on the building was continuing actively (Doc. 2).¹⁷ A later document refers to the new palace as existing in 1566 and to subsequent improvements (Doc. 8). The only certainty is that the palace existed by 1566. The deed of that year referred specifically to a "new palace," a description that would not have been employed were the building no more than foundations. Moreover, the documents of the later inheritance dispute refer only to "*melioramenta*" made after the donation (Doc. 8), which might imply that the palace was well begun by 1566. In May of 1572, del Giglio came back to Rome as treasurer general of his compatriot Gregory XIII.¹⁸ It is not known what he may have done for the palace between this

¹⁶ The donations of 1564 and 1566 were made in Sora (cf. note 12 above.) In 1565 he instituted the seminary of Sora (Gaetano Squilla, *Il seminario di Sora*, Sora, 1957, pp. 9-10, 46-47). Pius V addressed a *Breve* to del Giglio at Sora on 23 October 1567 (Fantuzzi, *Notizie*, IV, p. 155).

A central tenet of the Council of Trent was that Bishops must tend their flocks, and since these principles were strictly enforced under Pius IV and even more under Pius V, there is no doubt that del Giglio was almost exclusively in Sora from 1564 until 1572, when he was appointed papal treasurer. (For the enforcement of residency see Pastor VII, pp. 284 f., and VIII, pp. 137 ff.) In 1571 he was certainly still in Sora on the evidence of the document mentioned in note 12 above. In Sora he enlarged the Palazzo Vescovile and amplified the monastery of S. Chiara (now destroyed). The Cappella S. Tommaso in the Sora Cathedral was consecrated 7 November 1570. He also built extensively in the neighboring towns: S. Giovanni Evangelista in Casalvieri was consecrated 23 April 1573; S. Simeone in Alvito was consecrated 2 April 1574. (I wish to thank Monsignor Squilla for his research on my behalf in the episcopal archives of Sora; cf. Crescenzo Marsella, *I vescovi di Sora*, Sora, 1935, no. 49, pp. 141 ff.)

¹⁷ The exact location of the Condopulo house would need to be known before insisting on the relevance of this document to the new palace. The 1577 Lafréry map (Fig. 4) identifies the Piazza di Monte d'Oro as "P. Condopola," which was so-called because of property owned near or on it by the painter Paolo Condopulo (mentioned in documents of 1558 and 1561 according to P. Romano, *Roma nelle sue strade* . . . , p. 155). The document cited on p. 40, note 16, seems to indicate that the Condopulo house was behind the old Palazzo Farnese-Poggio on the Via dell'Arancio. But since Doc. 8 shows the new palace to have been in existence in 1566, albeit in a state requiring later "*melioramenta*," we should have little hesitation in accepting Doc. 2 as a reference to the new construction.

¹⁸ F. A. V(itale), *Memorie istoriche de' tesorieri generali pontificij*, Naples, 1782, p. XLIII: appointed 25 May 1572, which was soon after the election of Gregory XIII. This post he held until late in 1576. At the same time he was briefly (and unsuccessfully) head of the commission for calendar reform (Pastor, IX, p. 207).

Papal treasurers customarily became wealthy, and it may be supposed that the bulk of del Giglio's Roman palace would have been built after his appointment. But since the position went to rich men in the first place (the post cost ∇ 12,000—see Piccolomini, *op. cit.* [note 11 above], *loc. cit.*) this argument is far from conclusive. The surviving property donation of 1564 alone (note 12 above) shows him to have been a very wealthy man. This is further brought out by entries in the Roman *taxae viarum*, one of which, in 1569, lists del Giglio's *vigna* first, and shows it to have been the biggest in the district (ASR, *Presidenza delle Strade, Taxae viarum*, 445 [1514-1583], fol. 497, with still more property listed on fol. 487 v).

time and November of 1576, when he went to Piacenza.¹⁹ In April of 1576 he bought the contents of a stonecutter's shop opposite his palace.²⁰ Included in the sale was a great deal of stone work, finished and unfinished, that may have been intended for use within the palace.²¹ But the building was not finished before he died in 1578, although it was ready to be roofed (Doc. 4).²²

It will be remembered that del Giglio had purchased the entire site, including the old Palazzo Farnese-Poggio, for ∇ 6,800. The new palace was worth ∇ 16,000 in 1586 (Doc. 3), although this sale did not include the old Farnese-Poggio palace or the rest of the block. Thus del Giglio's new palace must have been an impressive affair. It corresponded to the main façade of the present Borghese palace, the block behind it, and perhaps the section of cortile attached (Text Fig. 1).

As it was completed, the façade has three stories of nine bays (Figs. 3 and 28). On the ground floor, courses of drafted masonry are represented in stucco facing. On the upper floors this rustication appears only on the outer bays, while the seven inner bays are separated by thin, pilaster-like strips. The ground floor windows are supported by brackets that frame cellar windows. On the upper stories the main windows rest on dados, which form distinctive elements of a socle course. The windows of the *piano nobile* are further distinguished by alternating triangular and segmental pediments. Each floor carries mezzanine or attic fenestration. Most striking of all, the palace is given a monumental portal consisting of a balcony supported by free-standing columns, while an aedicula above further accentuates the center of the design. On the string-course above the main story is inscribed: BONITATEM ET DISCIPLINAM ET SCIENTIAM DOCE ME.²³

II. ATTRIBUTION.

It should be possible to determine who could have designed such a distinctive façade in the years 1560–66. In order to do this we must examine other palaces built then and immediately before. Setting aside the highly individual contri-

¹⁹ Del Giglio was transferred on 5 November 1576 (ASV, *Arch. Consist.*, Acta Miscell., 19, fol. 497 v); on 3 October 1577 he was made Bishop of Piacenza (ASV, Armadio XLII, 32, fol. 25). There he died on 15 September 1578 (Guglielmo Bertuzzi, *La cattedrale piacentina nei suoi vescovi*, Piacenza, 1944, p. 25—information from Dr. Hess; Alidosi, *I sommi pontefici... bolognesi*, Bologna, 1621, pp. 84 f. and J. Le Plat, *Canones*, p. 367, say he died on 16 September).

²⁰ ASR, *Archivio notarile delle acque e strade*, Atti di O. Gracchus, 49, fols. 150 ff. The house was "a parte anteriori platea ante palatium." Cf. Fig. 3.

²¹ The sale document lists the items, chiefly marble columns, pedestals, alabaster, "tre camini alla francese," etc.

²² Nothing was done to the palace between 1578 and 1586, as Doc. 7 makes clear.

²³ Psalm CXVIII, 66 (in the English Bible, CXIX, 66). I have been unable to determine the date of this inscription. Without citing any source, Romano, I, p. 93, gives the date ca. 1609. Nevertheless, there is no evidence to indicate that the inscription does not date from the occupancy of del Giglio, although a later date would not affect the significance or attribution of the façade: the inscription is on it, but not of it. Its presence is important, however, as an indication of the Counter Reformation zeal for dedicating even secular places and objects to a religious purpose.

butions of Michelangelo, mid-century palace façades show a weakening of the formal style of the Roman High Renaissance. A comparison of Bramante's destroyed House of Raphael with Sangallo's Palazzo Farnese shows this process well on its way before 1550 (Figs. 7 and 8). The basement rustication, which contrasts with the elegant *piano nobile* of the High Renaissance palace, was reduced to a minimum by Sangallo, appearing only around the portal and at the quoins. The order, which further distinguished the higher floor, is also gone, and with it went the measured, static organization of the composition. In place of the order is Michelangelo's central window as a focal point. The facade, apart from this, consists of great squadrons of windows closely packed together in the lower two thirds of every story, each window distinguished only by alternating pediment forms. In place of the strongly contrasting alternation of paired order and window in Bramante's façade, we are presented with a weakly rhythmic monotony that allows the eye to wander back and forth freely and purposelessly within each story, and this lack of governing structure is accentuated by the greater size and height of the later palace.

The tendencies found in the Palazzo Farnese continue in the façade of the Palazzo Sacchetti on the Via Giulia, which was completed before 1560 by Nanni di Baccio Bigio (Fig. 23).²⁴ The number of stories has been thrown into doubt by the intrusion of a mezzanine, resulting in further vertical indecisiveness. The palace has also lost almost all corner accents. The omission of both order and quoining results in a succession of simplified windows. At the corner, blank wall allows the eye to fall off into space. Only the basement floor is given a corner pilaster strip, and since the windows of that floor are given more plastic definition than the others, we are made to feel that the traditional relation of basement to *piano nobile* has been reversed. All these features, or their lack, mark the nadir of post-classic lack of style, and it was the achievement of the second half of the century to react against it.²⁵

A contrasting palace of about 1560 is Pirro Ligorio's Torres-Lancellotti on the Piazza Navona (Fig. 6).²⁶ Unlike the palaces previously mentioned, the façade is covered with an all-over pattern of delicate rustication, while the windows rest directly upon the stringcourses. The patterned monotony and *horror vacui* of Ligorio's façade is a typical product of the formality and severity that

²⁴ Pio Pecchiai, "San Biagio della Pagnotta e palazzo Sacchetti," *L'Osservatore romano*, XC, 13 January 1950, no. 10 (27,250), p. 2. Further information on the palace will be found in a forthcoming article on Nanni by Dr. Hess. Cf. G. Giovannoni, *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane*, Rome, n. d. (1960?), pp. 314 ff.

²⁵ The Palazzo Mattei-Caetani is an early example of the same type of palace beginning to regain some of its formal properties. The date of the palace is unknown, and the traditional attribution to Ammannati is unreasonable on the basis of style. According to E. Vodoz, "Studien zum architektonischen Werk des Bartolomeo Ammannati," *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, VI, 1941, p. 1, the present palace was begun in 1564. Cf. Mario Zocca, "L'Isola dei Mattei," *Annali del Sindacato Nazionale Fascista Ingegneri*, XXXII, 1939, pp. 3-7. Stylistically, the façade is close to the early works of Giacomo della Porta.

²⁶ Built by Pirro Ligorio ca. 1560 according to Ferrerio, who is unreliable; cf. Tomei, p. 174, no. 43. Venturi, XI, 2, p. 978, gives the date as 1552 (see his p. 988, note 1).

came over Roman life and art during the first phases of the Counter-Reformation. The ultra-sophisticated, monotonous Torres façade can typify the formal but superficial court architecture that emerged in this period. A parallel in painting is found in the decorations by the Zuccari at Caprarola.

The Palazzo del Giglio façade (Figs. 5 and 28) has little to do with these palaces. The method of rustication, the projecting window gables, the use of mezzanines on all floors, the columnar portal with balcony and aedicula—all are essentially different from the contemporary façades which we have examined. Thus we can safely decide that del Giglio did not employ Ligorio, Nanni, or their kind.

Since the mid-seventeenth century, the original block of the Borghese palace has always been dated 1590 and attributed to Martino Longhi il Vecchio.²⁷ As such it was a distinguished but anomalous work with a decidedly Vignolesque air. This was considered appropriate for Longhi, an uninventive artist who represents better than any other architect the weakly classical current within the Late Renaissance style. But the Borghese façade is a far more important design than any of Longhi's other works. Its consistent use of the mezzanine over each story and the presence of a columnar portal with balcony and aedicula are brilliant solutions to the two basic problems of façade design that arose during the first half of the century.

As a design of 1560–1566 the façade assumes another significance. Put back twenty-five or thirty years, what was merely Vignolesque becomes a work contemporary with Vignola's own projects for Caprarola and for the Palazzo Farnese in Piacenza.²⁸ In fact, only Vignola could have designed such a façade. The proposal of Vignola as the architect of the Palazzo Borghese is surprising only in that it has never been considered, but, due to its date, its builder, and its style, Vignola is the only probable architect of the first palace.

Tommaso del Giglio was from Bologna, and it would have been natural for him to turn to a Bolognese architect. There was a good one available—Vignola.²⁹ Vignola was accessible because del Giglio was the agent of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese,³⁰ Vignola's constant patron. As his agent, del Giglio often had occasion to write to the Cardinal in Caprarola, and it is on the basis of a letter from del Giglio that we know the date of the beginning of Vignola's Farnese palace there

²⁷ See p. 14 below, and notes 47–52.

²⁸ For these works, see Lotz, pp. 35 ff. and 64 ff. The latest studies of the Palazzo Farnese in Piacenza are by Antonio Terzaghi, "Piani originali del Vignola per il palazzo Farnese di Piacenza," *Arte antica e moderna*, I, 1958, pp. 375 ff., and "Disegni vignoleschi," *Palladio*, IX, 1959, pp. 27 ff., neither of which shows adequate knowledge of the literature (e.g., Lotz).

²⁹ Vignola was of course born in the town of that name, but he was made an honorary citizen of Bologna on 1 February 1549 (F. Malaguzzi Valeri, *L'Architettura a Bologna nel Rinascimento*, Rocca S. Casciano, 1899, pp. 192–93).

³⁰ The documents mentioned in note 14 above are all Cardinal Farnese's with the exception of the last.

and the circumstances attached.³¹ Del Giglio was actively concerned with the financial aspects of the Caprarola construction; in letters written in 1560 he urged his patron to watch the bills submitted by the workmen and to send them to him so that the payments made by del Giglio would be correct.³² It was Cardinal Farnese who obtained the see of Sora for del Giglio,³³ and the latter considered himself the "procurator irrevocabilis" of Cardinal Farnese.³⁴ Under these circumstances it would have been strange indeed if del Giglio had called on an architect other than Vignola to design his new palace.

The rustication of the del Giglio façade reminds one first of the Palazzo Torres (Fig. 6) but proves to be even closer to that of the Cancelleria, where just such light, even rustication was employed over the whole façade (Fig. 11). (We shall see that the cortile, too, can be considered some kind of return to the Cancelleria.) It is no coincidence that Vignola worked at the Cancelleria in 1558.³⁵ He also planned a main portal for the palace, which was illustrated in his famous book on the orders (Fig. 13).³⁶ Although Vignola's style had been returning to the early phases of the High Renaissance during this period, his specific study of the Cancelleria was immediately reflected in his design of 1558-59 for the façade of the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola (Fig. 10).³⁷ There the same rustication is employed in the basement and on the outer bays of the *piano nobile*. It appears similarly on the del Giglio façade with the rustication on the outer bays carried up to the roof. These façades, closely contemporary, can be considered complementary revisions of the Cancelleria.

This revision is characteristic of Vignola's thinking. Unlike his immediate predecessors and contemporaries, he tried to achieve a significant revival of early High Renaissance form as well as a hierarchical division of the façade. This can already be seen at the Villa Giulia (Fig. 9).³⁸ The façade is divided into three vertical strips of equal width but of unequal value, since the center is given a

³¹ A. Ronchini, "I due Vignola," *Atti e memorie delle RR. Deputazioni di Storia Patria per le Provincie Modenesi e Parmensi*, III, 1865, pp. 362-63, and note 1: letter of 3 May 1559 from del Giglio in Rome to Cardinal Farnese. The building had been begun the Friday before.

³² *Ibid.*, letters of 21 and 24 July 1560.

³³ *Avviso* of 25 October 1561 (*Urb. lat.* 1039, fol. 305): "Fu data la Chiesa di Sora à Monsignor Thomaso del Giglio, nominato dal Reverendissimo Farnese suo famigliare . . .".

³⁴ Del Giglio so signed a document of 23 September 1570 (Archivio della Curia Vescovile, Sora, *Bollario, 1500-1598*; I am again indebted to Monsignor Squilla for giving me this information. Cf. Marsella, *op. cit.*, p. 138).

³⁵ Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, his patron, was Vice Chancellor and hence responsible for the palace. Within the building Vignola also worked on S. Lorenzo in Damaso, of which Farnese was titular Cardinal. See Hans Willich, *Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola*, Strasbourg, 1906, p. 79, for the date, which is based on a letter of 13 August 1558.

³⁶ *Li cinque ordini di architettura*. It does not appear in the first edition of 1562, but was soon added.

³⁷ For Vignola's projects, see Lotz, pp. 39 ff. Vignola was at this period attempting a reinterpretation of the works of Bramante, and Bramante was generally connected with the Cancelleria (Vasari-Milanesi, IV, p. 155).

³⁸ Built in the early 1550's. See the analysis in Coolidge, pp. 199 ff. and *passim*; and Lotz, p. 80.

pronounced emphasis. These three sections correspond to the three spaces behind the façade.

When designing a large dwelling palace he could not use such a simple and decisive scheme, nor would such a façade truly express the interior space. At Caprarola Vignola modified his style under the influence of the early High Renaissance. He further reduced the interest of individual elements and achieved a design that consists of two tower-like bays at the ends with a series of equal accents between. In this respect, and in the continuity of the wall surface and use of rustication, the palace is chiefly indebted to the Cancelleria; this indebtedness is even more striking in the del Giglio façade. In these façades Vignola's escape from the aggressive sculptural forms of his early style is complete (cf. Fig. 12).

Only the door in the basement serves to give Caprarola a central focus. This lack seems to have bothered Vignola, since, as Coolidge has pointed out, a central accent was one of the constant elements of Vignola's art.³⁹ The del Giglio façade can be considered a revision of Caprarola and, on a smaller scale, a step beyond it. Within Vignola's new classicism it achieved a strong central accent by means of the aedicula above the portal. This gives the palace an organization on the *piano nobile* that can be expressed schematically as $\bar{a}-b-a-b-\overset{A}{a}-b-a-b-\bar{a}$. The large gable projecting in the center gives a focal point to the design, while the rusticated end bays lend strength to the flanks by a different kind of emphasis. At Caprarola a full order was used to articulate the bays, but on the simpler del Giglio façade the pilasters are replaced by strips, a reduction of the earlier design. No aedicula could be used before the Caprarola arcade, but its appearance on the del Giglio façade is one of the strongest arguments for Vignola's authorship; his use of the motive can be traced from his earliest to his latest works.⁴⁰

The portal itself was certainly executed under del Giglio (Fig. 14). The center metope carries Tommaso del Giglio's personal arms (Fig. 17), while on the left side appear the complete arms of the del Giglio family (Fig. 19).⁴¹ A

³⁹ Coolidge, p. 201. The series reaches a climax in the unexecuted project of 1573 for the Gesù façade. See also Terzaghi, *op. cit.*, *Arte Antica e moderna*, I, Fig. 146 and pp. 380 f.

⁴⁰ Coolidge, p. 201, note 178, points out that his earliest use of the motive stemmed from Peruzzi. The evolution of Vignola's aediculas is completed by the Orti Farnesiani gate and the Gesù façade project. On p. 199 and note 161, Coolidge mentions Vignola's constant use of a large window and balcony united with the central doorway; our portal-balcony-window-aedicula is clearly a refinement of this leitmotiv. Cf. Terzaghi, *op. cit.*, and our Figs. 9 and 12.

⁴¹ The personal heraldry of Tommaso del Giglio is shown in Fig. 18. The same arms occupy the center metope of the portal frieze (Fig. 17). The family arms shown in Fig. 20 consist of a natural (silver?) lily on a blue ground, surmounted by three gold stars. I am indebted to the Collegio Araldico Romano for the identification of the metope shown in Fig. 19 with the arms of Fig. 20, which are reproduced from the *Raccolta araldica* of Tommaso Mercandetti, III, 14, 658, a manuscript in the library of the Collegio Araldico (cf. Carlo Augusto Bertini, *Manoscritti della biblioteca del Collegio Araldico Romano*. . . , Rome, 1911, p. 22, no. 154). Despite the differences in Mercandetti's rendering, Count Bertini of the Collegio Araldico assures me that there can be little doubt that the same del Giglio family arms are represented in both instances.

Bishops, like Cardinals, had the right to make up their own arms, and for this reason, apart from the family heraldry of Fig. 17, 19, and 21, it would be a complex task to explain the rest of

similar portal appearing in Vignola's book was designed for the Cancelleria in 1558 (Fig. 13) and is one step behind the del Giglio portal in that it is not entirely free-standing. Also related to the del Giglio portal is the columnar portal of S. M. dell'Orto, built between 1563 and 1567, somewhat on the model of the Cancelleria portal.⁴² The attribution of del Giglio's portal to Vignola rounds out the development of his palace portals from the engaged columnar portals of the Bocchi (Fig. 12) and other palaces of his Bolognese period through the more elegant and refined Cancelleria portal, which was still vestigially attached to the door. The balcony combined with an entrance portal is already found in the early Bocchi palace. On the del Giglio façade it is more prominent, owing to the free-standing columns that support it.

Further evidence for Vignola's authorship comes from minor details. Mezzanine or attic fenestration on each story was unusual in Rome at this time (compare Figs. 6 and 23), and recalls the Palazzo Farnese in Piacenza (Fig. 24). The mezzanine windows themselves are similar to those at Caprarola and are unlike most contemporary Roman designs. Similar too are the flat quoins of equal height that project in alternation. The same quoins are found at Caprarola and on earlier façades in Bologna, notably Vignola's Palazzo Bocchi (Fig. 12). Such quoins are frequent in Vignola's art and appear in his book of 1562 (Fig. 26).⁴³ The consoles framing the basement windows are characteristic simplifications of those on the Villa Giulia (Figs. 25 and 27) that are found again at Piacenza (Fig. 24).⁴⁴ These consoles are repeated in miniature below the window gables of the *piano nobile*. The socle course with its dados below the windows on each floor is equally characteristic of Vignola's works in this period. The windows themselves are totally unlike contemporary works in Rome. Gables were not customarily used on Roman palace façades of the 1560's and 1570's, but Vignola used them at Caprarola, at Piacenza, and elsewhere.⁴⁵

the symbols on the portal. Of the seven crests, five bear lilies in some form. Dr. L. D. Ettlinger kindly informed me that while there seems to be no astrological significance to the emblems, they do point to an interest in astronomy. Whether this need indicate that the portal heraldry dates from the time of del Giglio's interest in calendar reform, i.e., the mid 1570's, is unclear (see note 17 above).

In addition to the arms still visible on the portal there was perhaps also a large personal coat of arms above within the aedicula; cf. Fig 57.

⁴² See Furio Fasolo, *La fabbrica cinquecentesca di Santa Maria dell'Orto*, Rome n.d. (1945), pp. 46 ff.

⁴³ Although it is not identified, the illustration is of Caprarola; cf. the discussion of quoining in note 55 below.

⁴⁴ Vignola characteristically used the same bracket throughout his career. It first appears in his Palazzo Bocchi supporting the superposed balconies (Fig. 12). At Caprarola, brackets almost identical to those of the Palazzo del Giglio *inginocchiati* support the roof (Fig. 26), and appear again within, framing a large fireplace (Venturi, XI, 2, Fig. 674). They also appeared in the palace near the Piazza Navona (Letarouilly, I, Pl. 37-38). This restricted repertory of simple forms was first characterized by Coolidge, "The Arched Loggie on the Campidoglio," *Marsyas*, IV, 1945-1947, p. 73.

⁴⁵ Like his other frames, Vignola's gables began as more robust forms and were gradually toned down: see Coolidge, p. 200.

In more general ways the façade is also like Vignola's other works. It was characteristic of Vignola to design an elaborate, decorated facade employing the orders but leaving the flanks relatively plain and unadorned. This approach can already be seen in operation at S. Andrea in Via Flaminia; the most obvious and important example is the Gesù. The del Giglio palace is unique among Roman palaces in having an elaborate, formal façade with prominent, unadorned flanks. This again points directly to Vignola.

Another characteristic of Vignola's façades from the Villa Giulia to the end of his life is the fact that they are not deceptive or irrelevant. He always tried to represent the extension of the building behind in the formal design of the façade. We have seen an early example of this concern at the Villa Giulia. The del Giglio façade posed a rather different problem, since the spaces immediately behind it were more varied and irrational than those of the Villa Giulia. Vignola's design follows Caprarola quite closely in that the system of rustication is essentially the same. But whereas the rusticated end bays of the Caprarola façade are vertical expressions of the fortress bastions that jut out from each corner, the rusticated basement and upper end bays of the del Giglio palace are a schematic expression of the plan of the palace behind. The seven center bays of the *piano nobile* correspond to the open arches of the cortile, as the plan makes clear (Fig. 47).⁴⁶ So, in addition to being a balanced design with a central accent, the façade is also symbolic of the space within. The rusticated portions stand for the wings behind the palace block. The central sections with their panelling are to be equated with the cortile, while the great portal with its aedicula announces the entrance corridor and the principal axis of the palace through the cortile.

The Palazzo del Giglio façade should have been attributable to Vignola even without documentary evidence for an early date. In some respects it is merely a reduction of the Caprarola façade on a smaller, cheaper scale. But it is more than this: it is also an advance on that work in the resolution of the accent in the center. The Palazzo del Giglio represents a decisive moment in Vignola's career. He rejected those vestiges of the heavily conflicting forms of the late High Renaissance and the following period that are so evident in his early works (Figs. 9 and 12). At Caprarola he was caught in the esthetic problem of all such classic styles—the completely static character of a perfectly harmonious and balanced design. A solution to this dilemma is furnished by the del Giglio façade. Within the formula of Caprarola, Vignola regained the central accent that had been more easily obtained at the Villa Giulia in his early style. The synthesis of classic design with central focus became a chief goal of his late style, and the Palazzo del Giglio is perhaps his first solution of that problem.

⁴⁶ The site of the palace was irregular, and the corner angles of the palace are obtuse, like Caprarola. Consequently, the rectangular court within is almost as wide as the façade, an unusual feature in a Roman palace.

Despite the impressive stylistic evidence, certain questions may remain to be answered. How could it happen that a major work by the greatest architect of his generation has been forgotten and misunderstood? How can one be sure that the features of the façade that point most clearly to Vignola are not simply a pastiche applied by one of his followers? These questions demand conclusive answers.

Vignola's responsibility for the Palazzo del Giglio was forgotten, principally, because it was never publicly known. The earliest attribution was published in 1638 by Totti,⁴⁷ who did not know that a palace existed before Deza's time. The notices on Vignola's life did not help him, since Vignola was unfortunate in his biographers. Too young to be included in Vasari,⁴⁸ he was too long dead to have been treated accurately by Baglione in 1642.⁴⁹ Vignola's fame has puzzled critics ever since, and the grandeur of his name seemed ill-matched by his achievement.

The most important source for Vignola's career is the biography by Egnazio Danti prefacing Vignola's posthumous work on perspective (1583).⁵⁰ But although Danti's work is valuable, he did not even mention Vignola's design for such an important work as S. Andrea in Via Flaminia. After listing well-known buildings like the Gesù and Caprarola, he contented himself by saying: "He built many palaces, many houses, many chapels, and other buildings both public and private." Given this kind of treatment, there is little wonder that he did not mention the Palazzo del Giglio, which was still unfinished and empty.

Writing in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, Baglione could hardly have been expected to resurrect the earliest history of the palace. It was already being enlarged in 1586, when Baglione was a boy of fifteen. He learned that this building activity had been in the hands of Martino Longhi il Vecchio, and quite reasonably thought Longhi had begun the palace at that time.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Lodovico Totti, *Ritratto di Roma moderna*, Rome, 1638, p. 354.

⁴⁸ Vasari gave lives of dead masters only, but Vignola was too important to be wholly ignored. Passing mention of selected works is found in Vasari-Milanesi, VII, pp. 81 f., 105 ff. (really a little life), 130 f., and 266. *Ibid.*, V, p. 432, mentions his book on the orders. Nevertheless, Vasari does not mention the Palazzo Farnese in Piacenza or any other buildings later than 1560 with the exception of St. Peter's.

⁴⁹ Vignola can have been little more than a legend to Baglione; his biography opens the book, and had he died a year earlier he would not even have qualified for admission. The early lives, including Vignola's, are naturally the least reliable; writing well over half a century after the events, Baglione could not call upon witnesses in order to eke out his limited information.

Fuller discussion of the still inadequate Vignola literature is found in Coolidge, "Vignola, and the Little Domes of St. Peter's," *Marsyas*, II, 1942, p. 89, note 7 and *passim*.

⁵⁰ *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica di M. Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola*, Rome, 1583. The incompleteness of Danti's list of works is emphasized by Giovannoni, pp. 204 f.

⁵¹ What Baglione says (Life of Martino Longhi il Vecchio, p. 68) is this: "Il palazzo del Signor Duca Altamps alla piazza dell'Apollinare è suo raggiustamento; come fu suo disegno l'altro vecchio di Monte dragone a Frascati; e quello in Roma già del Cardinal Deza: & hora questi due ultimi sono de' Signori Borghesi. . ." Not only Longhi, but Longhi's son Onorio († 1619) was dead when Baglione wrote, and it was too late to find out the facts.

The burial of the del Giglio palace was completed by Pietro Ferrerio, whose engraving of the façade was published by 1655 (Fig. 28).⁵² He had learned from Totti or Baglione that the palace had been built by Deza, and he gave it a date: 1590. Like many of Ferrerio's dates, it was a complete fabrication. Between them, Ferrerio and Baglione effectively sealed the palace from future understanding.

Despite the obvious Vignolesque features of the façade, and the coincidence of its foundation with the moment in Vignola's career that produced analogous designs, is it not possible that the façade was at least partially the work of one of Vignola's successors — della Porta, Mascarino, or Longhi? On the face of it this question has considerable validity. Since the building was still unroofed in 1586, and since the cornice and frieze below bear the Deza arms (Fig. 28), it is possible that the stucco facing was an application of 1586 or later.

Our analysis has tried to show the necessity of Vignola's responsibility for the design, and the creative ingenuity displayed should be sufficient proof that the idea came from a major master, not a follower. This can be more definitely shown by an examination of the palaces built by the later architects. None of them ever produced a design remotely like it. True, the problems that Vignola attempted to solve in the del Giglio façade also intrigued della Porta. But della Porta solved them by crowding the windows together toward the center of the design, while at the same time increasing the sculptural prominence of their frames.⁵³ Thus his solution was essentially dynamic, while Vignola's was hierarchic. For Vignola, regular intervals between windows were as canonical as the classical orders. Della Porta's rhythmic concentration of windows in groups clustered toward the middle and spread apart at the sides was an innovation that broke completely with the principles of Vignola's style. To accomplish the same end, Vignola had to rely on different means: variation of surface (e.g., rustication) and superposition of new elements on the surface (e.g., the columnar portal and aedicula), resulting in a rational, additive design composed in distinct layers. The contrast between this style and della Porta's is seen in their respective Gesù façade designs. Unlike Vignola's, della Porta's façade cannot be rationally dissected or analyzed. Only rarely, toward the end of his career, did della Porta use a columnar portal on a palace façade; when he did, the columns were recessed or engaged.⁵⁴ None of his works are at all related to the del Giglio façade.

Mascarino and Longhi were on a considerably lower level of creative activity. Even more than Mascarino, Longhi merely reflected current fashion: he neither created a style nor arrived at significant solutions to old problems. Neither Mascarino nor Longhi ever showed any understanding of the problems that evoked

⁵² The date is that usually given to the *Palazzi di Roma* with the additions of G. B. Falda, although the books themselves are undated. Ferrerio died in 1654, so the execution of his plates must have been earlier, perhaps considerably earlier. (See Michelangelo Piacentini, "Pietro Ferrerio: pittore, incisore ed architetto," *Palladio*, IV, 1940, pp. 31-33).

⁵³ The most important examples of this style are the Palazzo Serlupi and the Palazzo Marecotti, both dated in the 1580's by Körte (in Thieme-Becker). Illustrated in Falda, Plates 20 and 55.

⁵⁴ E.g., the portal of the Palazzo Marecotti.

the del Giglio façade. Neither of them organized palace façades by the use of such features as selective rustication. Neither concentrated attention upon the center of a design by the use of a monumental portal-aedicula or by other means. Neither architect commonly crowned his window frames with gables, and Longhi seems never to have used them on palace façades. Longhi was relatively insensitive to the formal qualities of façade design; he seems to have been completely uninventive. For one palace he produced a façade that crowned two complete stories with two attics.⁵⁵ The del Giglio façade could have been designed only by Vignola and only in the early 1560's; all the evidence—documentary, stylistic, and circumstantial—supports this conclusion.

But this is not to say that the execution of his design was closely supervised by Vignola. We can be quite positive that it was not. Vignola was almost constantly at Caprarola between 1559 and 1564; when not there, he was at Piacenza or on some other commission connected with the Farnese.⁵⁶ Although in Rome occasionally during this period, he cannot have given the building the attention it demanded. Between 1564 and his death in 1573 he remained more constantly in Rome, but he was in ill health, and busy with such major commissions as the Gesù. Since del Giglio was in Rome between 1572 and 1576, it seems reasonable that work was done on the palace shortly before and after Vignola's death. It is, indeed, possible that many of the characteristic features of the del Giglio palace were executed during this time or in 1586 and after, under Cardinal Deza. Even the main portal could have been executed after Vignola's design in the

⁵⁵ The Palazzo Cesi-Poli, now rebuilt. See Armando Schiavo, *La Fontana di Trevi e le altre opere di Nicola Salvi*, Rome, 1956, pp. 84 ff. and Figs. 22-24, 112-113. The portal of this palace is perhaps the best illustration of the contrast between Longhi's style and Vignola's. For the only time, Longhi here used a columnar portal supporting a balcony, shown unfinished on the 1593 Tempesta map (cf. the illustration in Ferrerio, Plates 19 and 20). The columns were engaged, not free-standing as at the Palazzo del Giglio. The door itself is arched, as in all his other palaces, and employs an oversized volute-keystone that recalls the Palazzo Altemps. This device was also used on the Cesi palace portal, where the large keystone is replaced by an escutcheon with the family coat of arms (Fig. 15). On the basis of style alone one is tempted to arrange the portals chronologically: Altemps, Cesi, Cesi-Poli; the first two being certainly of the 1570's, the last possibly later. Cf. p. 86 below.

Another interesting stylistic comparison between Longhi and Vignola is their use of quoining. In relatively early works such as the Villa Giulia (Fig. 9) Vignola employed rusticated blocks that turn out to be parts of a Doric order on the ground floor. This quoin-pilaster corresponds with the rusticated portal order; above, a simple pilaster is found in its stead. His change of style ca. 1560 led him to abandon heavy rustication for the simpler flat quoins of Caprarola and related structures. Longhi, on the other hand, took the Villa Giulia style for his point of departure. At the Palazzo Altemps the quoining is a version of Vignola's earlier robust style, while the portal reflects Vignola's at Caprarola. The Caprarola portal is itself something of a throwback to his style of the preceding years (see note 74 below). Even Longhi's Cesi-Poli palace had strongly rusticated quoins on the ground floor, while the upper tier of flat quoining again becomes a pseudo-pilaster. Longhi never used quoining of the Caprarola-Piacenza-Palazzo del Giglio type.

⁵⁶ Cf. Lotz, pp. 7 f. Giacinto, Vignola's son, was also busy at Piacenza, but returned to Rome in the early 1560's; he was already listed as "computista delle fabbriche" at the Vatican in 1562 (von Sicking, *Ein ruolo di famiglia*, loc. cit. [note 12 above], p. 39). In these years Giacinto began to take over much of the responsibility for the execution of his father's ideas (e.g., S. M. dell'Orto), and he may well have been involved in this way with the Palazzo del Giglio.

1570's. A later date is certainly the best explanation of certain features of the court arcade, which is discussed in the following chapter.

A drawing of 1610-12 in the Albertina seems to show quite clearly the extent of the del Giglio construction (Fig. 79).⁵⁷ The stair to the right may be a later addition, since the walls there are double. The corresponding wall at the left is also thicker and seems originally to have terminated the design. Clearly the palace was unfinished in this state, and it may be presumed that a grand stair similar to that which was ultimately executed would have been built by del Giglio had he finished the palace. Undoubtedly changes crept into the del Giglio design. Coolidge has pointed out the difficulty Vignola found in the execution of designs that he did not personally oversee.⁵⁸ Only at Caprarola did he have the opportunity to supervise the building to the extent necessary, and this opportunity produced his masterpiece. Yet despite the fact that the del Giglio palace remained unfinished, and despite its presumed execution by other less sensitive hands, the façade displays so many characteristics of Vignola's style, and of his personal approach to the exigencies of façade design, that there should be no hesitation in regarding it as his work.

III. STYLISTIC SIGNIFICANCE.

We have discussed the del Giglio façade as a work by Vignola, and its place in his stylistic evolution is clear. The façade has a more general significance, however, that derives from its use of mezzanines and from its columnar portal. Mezzanine windows were never used in the formal Florentine block palaces of the Quattrocento but they do appear in Roman palaces over ground floor shops (e.g., Fig. 7). Such a coupling of private palace with public shops is a survival from ancient Roman *insulae* with *tabernae* involving no essential change in form or function.⁵⁹ But even before 1500 certain Roman palaces were built without shops. Such a palace is the Cancelleria (Fig. 11); yet, although it lacks mezzanines, the Cancelleria does have an attic. Thus by 1500 Roman palaces were being designed with subordinate stories on the ground and top floors.

Mezzanine floors were essential for storage, for servants' quarters and communication. No palace of any significance built in Rome after 1500 was without one or more. This created a stylistic difficulty, for while a mezzanine over a row of shops was traditional, a mezzanine in an upper floor disrupted the unity

⁵⁷ No. 1001, "Borromini Kreis." I am very much indebted to Dr. Heinrich Thelen for bringing this drawing to my attention, and for procuring the photographs.

⁵⁸ "Vignola's Character and Achievement," *JSAH*, IX, 4, 1950, p. 11.

⁵⁹ See Axel Boëthius, "Appunti sul carattere razionale e sull'importanza dell'architettura domestica di Roma imperiale," *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara*, Vatican City, 1937, pp. 21-32; and *idem*, "Den romerska storstadens Hyreshusarkitektur. . .," *Göteborgs högskolas Årsskrift*, L, 1, 1944, pp. 7-75 (English summary, pp. 63-68). Cf. Bruno M. Apollonj, "Il prospetto del palazzo romano del primo Cinquecento. . .," *Atti del I Congresso Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura*, Florence, 1938, pp. 237 ff.

of the design. In such a classic façade as Raphael's house the attic, which actually existed, was carefully suppressed in the design. (Fig. 7).

It seems to have been Peruzzi who first used mezzanines consistently on two or more floors. Subordinate floors are already seen on both stories of the Villa Farnesina.⁶⁰ They appear again in the Palazzo Alberini-Cicciaporci.⁶¹ In both these early examples the openings on the upper floors are tiny rectangles that play little or no part in the esthetic design. Sansovino's Gaddi-Niccolini palace of the 1520's solves some of the mezzanine problems posed by the Cicciaporci.⁶² Instead of subordinating the windows, Sansovino designed two genuine mezzanine floors. The use of mezzanines was developed further by Peruzzi in his Massimi palace of the 1530's.⁶³

Against this trend of compromise with the functional but untidy mezzanine stood the bulk of High Renaissance practice, which was bolstered by the Tuscan traditions that had accompanied many of the architects to Rome. In the earlier palaces of Raphael and Giulio Romano only the ground floor shops are allowed mezzanines expressed on the exterior.⁶⁴ The greatest and final achievement in this line of development is the Palazzo Farnese (Fig. 8). As in the Cancelleria, the shops are banished. It would seem that such a palace should achieve the ultimate in Renaissance façade design, and in a sense it does. But while the mezzanines are not expressed on the exterior, and although the great rooms of the *piano nobile* carry through the entire height of the floor or higher, there are in fact subordinate floors on each of the three stories in some sections of the palace.⁶⁵ The consequence was that the architect did not have so free a hand in designing the façade as might be supposed: the windows of the main floors could not overlap the hidden mezzanines above. The windows fill the lower half of each exterior story, leaving blank wall above. The resulting shortage of light on the mezzanine floors must have caused great inconvenience. Thus for both esthetic and practical reasons the Farnese palace remained unique.⁶⁶ Raphael himself, while designing the prototype of the Farnese palace, the Palazzo Pandolfini in Florence,⁶⁷ also succumbed to the mezzanine. His Palazzo Branconio dell'Aquila introduces a Mannerist solution to the mezzanine problem that was echoed in the Palazzo Spada.⁶⁸

⁶⁰ Illustrated in Venturi, XI, 1, Figs. 332-33.

⁶¹ The date of the palace will be shown by Professor Lotz in his forthcoming volume in the Pelican History of Art; cf. Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I, New Haven, 1958, p. 65, note 36. Illustrated by Ferrerio, Plate 40, in its original five bay form; the earliest visual record of the palace seems to be an engraving by Lafréry.

⁶² Illustrated by Letarouilly, I, Plate 14. It now has a balcony over the door that is apparently a later addition.

⁶³ Illustrated in Venturi, XI, 1, Figs. 347 and 353.

⁶⁴ See *ibid.*, Figs. 185, 198, 243.

⁶⁵ I am indebted to Professor Lotz for this information.

⁶⁶ Maderno at one time projected what amounts to a duplicate of the Farnese, but it was never executed (illustrated in Caffisch, Abb. 58).

⁶⁷ Venturi, XI, 1, Fig. 198.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Figs. 190-91, and XI, 2, Fig. 898.

But while these answers to the problems of design could not become common, some kind of compromise had to be admitted. Mid-century palaces like the Sacchetti were to some extent designed inside-out: where windows were needed, there they appeared. With the gradual disappearance of ground floor shops the old formula was changed, and palaces went without expressed mezzanines on that floor. Mezzanine windows above became almost the rule; a crowning attic floor with exterior windows was also common. The need for mezzanines is already reflected in Alvise Cornaro's treatise on architecture. Speaking of ordinary houses, he praises the use of mezzanines for their commodity as making better sense than a beautiful but inconvenient *piano nobile*. But he adds that some rooms can be made with mezzanines and others "high and beautiful."⁶⁹

The problem that presented itself to Vignola was how to incorporate mezzanine windows into a formal, balanced design. At the Villa Giulia he was happily able to do without them (Fig. 9). Caprarola, a unique problem, has only an attic. But at Piacenza he introduced regular, well-defined mezzanine floors over both lower stories (Fig. 24). The del Giglio façade is a characteristic rationalization of Vignola's middle period and an ultimate solution to the mezzanine difficulty. Since mezzanines had to appear, they appear on all three stories.⁷⁰ Thus the exterior balance of the Palazzo Farnese is restored, but with mezzanines.

Like the mezzanines, Vignola's portal solution was the culmination of a half century of experimentation. Early Roman palaces such as the Cancelleria did not have large, specially ornamented portals. In palaces with shop fronts little distinction was made between palace door and shop (Fig. 7). An early effort to dignify the shop front portal is found in the Cicciaporci palace. Further attempts can be followed in Giulio Romano's Maccarani and Sansovino's Gaddi-Niccolini palace.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Giuseppe Fiocco, "Alvise Cornaro e i suoi trattati sull'architettura," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, CCCXLIX, 1952, Serie VIII, *Memorie*, IV, pp. 195-222. The passage (p. 208) is as follows: "...io lauderò sempre più la fabrica honestamente bella, ma perfettamente comoda, che la bellissima et incomoda... et lauderò lo amezar alcuni luoghi, per farne di uno dui che pecano in bassezza, che farne un solo alto, perché io tratto di stantie da Cittadini et non da Principi. Ma non però dico, che si debbi fare tutte le stantie di una casa a questo modo, ma alcune di esse, et le altre poi farle alte e belle." (Cornaro lived from 1475-1566).

⁷⁰ The attic windows of the façade have been cut down into the second story. Although the frieze between these windows bears the Deza arms, the windows themselves are part of the del Giglio design (Doc. 6 mentions some as already in place). The height of the attic toward the court can be seen in Fig. 59, and such an enlargement away from the façade is also found at the Palazzo Farnese.

All the available evidence points to the fact that the presence of mezzanines smacked of commercialism or economy, and this tended to discourage their use in the nobler palaces. Suppression of mezzanines continued in the papal palaces of the later sixteenth century (Vatican, Lateran). In other circumstances utility triumphed; nevertheless, it is probably significant that the Palazzo Borghese was begun for a relatively humble Monsignore. Even in the 1560's, such a design would have been displeasing to a Cardinal.

⁷¹ See Venturi, XI, 1, Fig. 243 and Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I, pp. 64 f., for the former. The latter is in Letarouilly, I, Plate 14 (cf. note 62 above).

The new desire for monumental entrances can also be traced in the sixteenth century projects for a new entrance to the Cancelleria.⁷² These took the form of such engaged columnar portals as had been built by Giulio Romano at the Villa Lante and by Sangallo at the Palazzo Baldassini.⁷³ But while the columnar portal was a natural high relief accent on a façade such as the Villa Lante, which had a pilaster order, its use ran into difficulty at the Baldassini. Because of the great height between the ground floor windows and the stringcourse above, a columnar portal reaching to the *piano nobile* would have been monstrous. But a lower portal also has defects. Without other use of the orders, its size is arbitrary. Perhaps for this reason the columnar portal was dropped in Rome, and between 1520 and 1550 another type became prominent.

The solution of the second quarter of the century was a large rusticated portal with balcony below the *piano nobile* (Fig. 8). This was the form accepted by Vignola at Caprarola (Fig. 10).⁷⁴ But Vignola came from northern Italy where columnar portals were common, and he had an instinctive, life-long preference for them. His early Palazzo Bocchi incorporated an engaged columnar portal with a balcony on the level of the ground floor mezzanines.⁷⁵ The Villa Giulia shows the resolution of the problem in his early style (Fig. 9); here the columnar portal becomes part of a two-story triumphal arch motive that divides the façade into three vertical units. The Cancelleria portal designed by Vignola illustrates a later, classical solution (Fig. 13). The columns are all but free-standing and rustication is banished.

The Palazzo del Giglio represents a final stage in the evolution of the Roman palace portal. The columns are moved out from the wall and support a strongly projecting balcony. But to end the design with that was not sufficiently subtle or classic for the Vignola of the 1560's. His solution illustrates the continuity of his artistic thought throughout changes in style. The columnar portal with balcony and aedicula is a revision of the Villa Giulia portal within his later style of late Quattrocento revival. The aedicula with its Ionic pilasters justifies the columns below and extends the central accent of the portal through the main floor. The pilaster-like mouldings on that story carry on the idea of an order across the façade.

The Palazzo del Giglio offers the definitive solution to the problems of mezzanine and portal that were central for the first half of the century. Its use of rusti-

⁷² Sangallo's project is illustrated in Venturi, XI, 1, Fig. 599. Vignola's project for the same portal appears as our Fig. 13. The present portal (Fig. 11) was built by Domenico Fontana and is based on Sangallo's. The same problem arose in connection with the Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia, and Longhi's portal for the Palazzo Cesi in Borgo Vecchio (Fig. 15) seems to be a further example (see p. 86 below).

⁷³ Cf. Montini (cited in note 3 above), and D. Redig de Campos, *Notizia su Palazzo Baldassini*, Rome, 1957 (extract from *Bollettino del Centro di Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura*, X, 1956).

⁷⁴ This portal, like the arrangement of the ground floor windows, may depend on the beginnings of Sangallo's construction. As executed it is a reduction of the Villa Giulia portal of a few years earlier. It seems to be the model for Longhi's portal for the Palazzo Altamps (see note 55 above).

⁷⁵ Illustrated in Willich, *Vignola*, Tafel I, Fig. 2; cf. our Fig. 12.

cation on the end bays was a fruitful answer to the quest for organization on a large façade. The use of a pseudo-order across the *piano nobile* distinguishes that floor and adds a series of vertical accents to the rhythmic horizontal of the alternating window gables. The whole design is a tightly woven fabric of balances and counter-balances, horizontals and verticals; it has a beginning, a middle, and an end; a clearly differentiated bottom and a top. The façade solved problems that had not even been posed by Bramante and Raphael with an elegance that Sangallo did not command. Moreover, the windows with their mezzanines open up the wall surface in a way that the designers of the first half of the century had never done. The High Renaissance relationship of window to wall is reversed at the Palazzo Borghese, foreshadowing the even greater openness of Baroque palaces. But while the Palazzo del Giglio solved old problems, it did not pose new ones to the generations of architects immediately following Vignola. Such was the character of his solution that the façade stands unique in the sixteenth century. Nothing remained to be said within the style.

Vignola's late classicism, with its complex balance and subtle harmony, was essentially directed toward the past. The Palazzo del Giglio is one of the highest points in the Bramante revival of the late sixteenth century. But the "classic," hierarchic design of Vignola was doomed. In the very years of the del Giglio construction a new artistic personality appeared on the scene—Giacomo della Porta. For balanced progression he substituted a harsh dynamism. The first test of the new style was the Gesù façade competition, when della Porta's design gained the day over Vignola's.

This is not to say that the del Giglio façade was without influence. It played an important part in Bernini's façade of 1664 for the Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi, in many ways the apotheosis of Italian palace design, which is little more than a Baroque transformation of the del Giglio façade. The columnar portal favored by Vignola appears again and again during the following centuries, with varied modifications. The aedicula also made a marked impression on later architects, and the problem of linking the portal with the *piano nobile* remained a real one. The most notable Roman development based on the del Giglio portal occurs in the Palazzo del Quirinale, where Maderno's columnar portal was later surmounted by a balcony and monumental aedicula. Such a work as Fischer von Erlach's Salzburg Hofstallkaserne portal is also ultimately dependent on it, and dozens of other examples could be cited. Historically, it is the use of the mezzanines and the portal element that gives the façade its significance. The former marked the end of an epoch of Renaissance architecture; the latter exerted an influence for almost two centuries.

CHAPTER 2

THE PALAZZO DEL GIGLIO: THE COURT

I. HISTORY AND STYLISTIC CHARACTER OF THE ARCADE.

It is a pleasure to pass through the formal, cerebral façade of the Palazzo Borghese into one of the most gracious of all Roman *cortili* (Fig. 58). Instead of finding himself at the bottom of an airless well, which is the case in so many other Roman palaces, the visitor looks through a bridge arcade into gardens, where his eye comes to rest upon a niche-fountain in the distance. Even discounting the contribution of Ponzio in opening the fourth side, one must acknowledge that the cortile is a masterpiece. Taken by itself it is impressive; taken in sequence as a contrast with the exterior it is surprising and delightful.

The unusual thing about the Borghese cortile is that it is columnar; moreover these columns support the arcades in pairs. It had been the custom to build columnar arcades in the fifteenth century, and a handsome one had been built in Rome at the Cancelleria (Fig. 42). But the favorite sixteenth century Roman arcade, following the early Renaissance example in the Palazzo Venezia, was some version of the "Tabularium motive," either with engaged columns, as in the Palazzo Farnese, or, more commonly, with pilasters, as at the Sapienza and elsewhere (Fig. 44). This combination of arcuated and trabeated forms had been so clearly preferred by the architects of ancient Rome that its use in the sixteenth century became almost mandatory.¹

The Palazzo Borghese courtyard has arcades on paired columns and is thus quite another problem from these simple arcades. First of all, the columns are coupled parallel to the arch, not transversely. An arcade of the latter type is found in S. Constanza, and is common in medieval cloisters; examples occur even in the period under discussion. In architectural grammar, this combination of arch and column is easier to rationalize: the coupled columns support an entablature that adumbrates a colonnade; if extended, it would form a series of colonnades spanned by barrel vaults.² Not so with the type found in our palace. Here the colonnade fragment is interrupted by the arch itself, and the resulting arcade consists of an alternate trabeation and arcuation instead of the fusion of the two found in the Tabularium motive.³ The Borghese cortile is unique in Rome, and it will therefore be our duty to try to discover what specific antecedents there may be, and how this material was used by the architects.

¹ Arcades with single columns were designed by Mascarino, however, and his Palazzo del Commendatore di S. Spirito employs them (Golzio, pp. 179 ff.).

² Examples of such constructions actually exist: see Venturi, XI, 1, Fig. 794.

³ The same grammatical problem is inherent in the single column arcades used by Brunelleschi and others. The difficulty was avoided by Bramante, who never used columnar arcades in Rome.

The first example known to me of a Renaissance paired column arcade comparable to that found in the Palazzo Borghese is found painted in Piero della Francesca's *Annunciation* in Perugia,⁴ an arcade whose individual forms are of great purity and classicism, although the loggia imagined by Piero is spatially ambiguous. Actual paired column arcades in Early Renaissance style seem not to have been built, although there are plenty of Medieval ones.⁵

Before tracing the sixteenth century development of the paired column motive, it will be necessary to spend a little time investigating the various related arcades that emerged from High Renaissance study and experimentation, for it was in early sixteenth century Rome that the repertory of later Renaissance architectural forms was evolved. From the investigation of antique remains, the study of Vitruvius, and the general sifting process by which non-antique forms were revised or eliminated, there emerged in the early sixteenth century for the first time since antiquity a series of accepted classic motives—and, therefore, their opposites as well. One of these new motives is a variation on the Tabularium motive that was used by Bramante. He paired the pilasters between arches, allowing them to form narrower bays containing niches and windows (Fig. 38). Pier bay and arched bay alternate in a distinctive rhythm. Bramante avoided ambiguity by breaking the entablature above the paired order, and the motive thus reads as a series of wider arched and narrower trabeated bays of equal vertical value.⁶

A related motive, the "Venetian window," bridges the formal differences between the Belvedere motive and the arcade on coupled columns.⁷ This is a triform typified by an arched central aperture with trabeated openings at either side (cf. Fig. 36). The Venetian window is a unit by definition; perhaps its first appearance is in Bramante's window in the Vatican Sala Regia.⁸ As used by High Renaissance architects this triple motive equals one bay; when repeated (the "Palladian motive"), the units are separated by a governing order (Fig. 36). Wittkower has pointed out that its novelty consists in the reconciliation of the straight architrave of the Greeks with the arch of the Romans. It is therefore a fusion similar in result to the Tabularium motive, but whereas the former is

⁴ A puzzling work that is, however, generally accepted by modern connoisseurs. Cf. Kenneth Clark, *Piero della Francesca*, London, 1951, pp. 45 f. and Plate 135.

⁵ An approach to a paired column arcade is found in works by, or close to, Alberti and Bramante, but these are ornamental sequences of individual arches on columns that have no common members held between the separate units. Illustrated in Venturi, VIII, 1, Fig. 101, and VIII, 2, Fig. 673.

⁶ Shown in Serlio, Book III (in the Venice quarto of 1566, p. 117 v), with plan and elevation. Serlio considered the motive an invention of Bramante's. Analogous uses of the motive appeared in the House of Raphael (Fig. 7) and in the Palazzo Vidoni-Caffarelli, etc.

⁷ Some of these terms are discussed by Fausto Franco in the *Enciclopedia italiana* (s. v. Serliana), and by Wittkower, "Pseudo-Palladian Elements in English Neo-Classical Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VI, 1943, pp. 154 ff. Neither differentiates with precision the *Serliana*, the "Palladian motive," and the paired column arcade. For the early sixteenth century it would be a mistake to categorize these motives rigidly.

⁸ Illustrated in Costantino Baroni, *Bramante*, Bergamo, n. d., Tav. 120.

essentially concerned with the rhythmic bridging of space between columns, the latter is merely an application of trabeated forms to an arcade on piers. The Palladian motive without its framing order is a typical anti-classic device. So used, the triple motive no longer forms precisely one bay, resulting in an ambiguous alternation. As it happens, Bramante himself used such a motive in the crossing of St. Peter's.⁹

We have discussed classic architectural forms related to the paired column arcade, but in the early sixteenth century that motive itself was also known. It was never employed by Bramante, Raphael,¹⁰ Sangallo, or Sansovino, but as might be expected, we find the motive sketched by Peruzzi (Fig. 40).¹¹ The importance of this arcade lies in the introduction of columns. In Bramante, the order was applied to the wall surface as a pilaster: the order lies upon the wall (Fig. 38). Here, the order becomes three-dimensional and inhabits the same space as the wall: wall and order are equal elements in the construction. This innovation changes the character of the architecture, for whereas walls are planar, the column is a sculptural element that implies movement in and out. Thus the intrusion of the column within the wall plane led to spatial consequences not found in the Tabularium motive, where the order is engaged and tends to lose its identity in that of the wall.

There is, moreover, a problem involved in this architectural system, which is probably the reason true High Renaissance architects eschewed it. Observing such an arcade, one wonders whether the columns united by a common entablature should be considered as a pair, or whether the arch reigns, joining its two supporting columns into a unit.¹² Sometimes it is possible to give a tentative answer to this question by weighing the relative spacings between the supporting members. But an ambiguity, or unresolved tension, always remains.

Peruzzi seems never to have employed the paired column arcade in an actual building, but the essential conflict of the form greatly appealed to Raphael's precocious pupil, Giulio Romano, and it is he who gives us our first Renaissance example of the motive in actual operation, the Villa Lante in Rome (Fig. 39).¹³ A slight timidity characterized this first attempt. Unlike the Peruzzi drawing, the

⁹ Although this application had its origin in constructional necessity, when it is straightened out into an arcade it is nothing more than a series of barrel vaults on piers with the paired pilaster order coming only to the height of the arch springing. Such an applied trabeation does not form a governing order, as in the Tabularium motive. Instead it resembles a series of fused Venetian windows.

¹⁰ The drawing illustrated in Venturi, XI, 1, Fig. 174, which purports to be a study by Raphael for the *Liberation of St. Peter*, has nothing to do with the fresco in the Vatican and would appear to be a later work not by Raphael.

¹¹ Illustrated in William Kent, *Baldassare Peruzzi*, New York, 1925, Plate 40, as projects for St. Peter's. Professor Lotz informs me that these drawings could date from the 1520's and that they may have been for S. Domenico in Siena. But we can presume that Peruzzi knew the motive and worked with it earlier.

¹² Cf. Wittkower, "Michelangelo's Biblioteca Laurenziana," *The Art Bulletin*, XVI, 1934, pp. 205 ff., who discusses Mannerism in terms of ambiguity, double function, etc.

¹³ Adriano Prandi, *Villa Lante al Gianicolo*, Rome, 1954, pp. 3 ff., 100 ff. Built ca. 1518-21. Cf. Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I, New Haven, 1958, pp. 62 ff.

columns are spaced evenly, resulting in equal bays. The arches have no mouldings, while the trabeation is reinforced by a second order above. The result seems to be a colonnade regularly interrupted by small arches, recalling the monumental examples of antiquity.¹⁴ Since three of the five bays are arched, a kind of balance is struck between the more positive trabeation and the weaker but more numerous arches. Ambiguity is at a maximum, for we are hopelessly torn between reading the columns as pairs united by the entablature segments, or as pairs united by the arches: as interrupted colonnade or interrupted arcade.

This precarious balance between colonnade and arcade was too indecisive to become popular; in future examples the columns were almost invariably spaced irregularly. Giulio himself followed this example in the garden façade of the Palazzo del Te, in Mantua.¹⁵ The unregulated Palladian motive and the arcade on coupled columns can there be seen side by side, and since the motives were not immediately standardized, they continued to influence each other.

The same kind of Mannerist ambiguity is found in Serlio. Serlio, like Giulio, is representative of the early sixteenth century anti-classic reaction, but while the latter was a direct pupil of Raphael, Serlio was the follower of Peruzzi.¹⁶ In Serlio's first published book (1537) we find the fully developed Mannerist arcade that became popular in north Italy during the following decades: an arcade on widely-spaced paired columns below, with a closed story above (Fig. 37). It will be observed that Serlio's columnar arcade, the *Serliana* properly speaking, is a Mannerist construction. The Venetian window, described as such, is illustrated by Serlio as a typical feature of that city. But Serlio was clearly more interested in the ambiguous arcades, which were a product of his Roman experience and probably a contribution of Peruzzi.

One feature in Serlio's design deserves further comment. Each of the entablature segments carries above it a rectangular decoration that served to reinforce the individual trabeated sections. This usage was the result of the study of antique forms; the same architectural decoration appeared in the marble incrustation of the spandrels within S. Constanza.¹⁷ An inclination

¹⁴ Antique examples are almost invariably true colonnades with a central arch over the portal, as at Baalbek, Spalato, and the Termessus temple; illustrated in D. S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge, 1945, Figs. 97, 98, and Plate XXIV a.

¹⁵ Ernst Gombrich, "Zum Werke Giulio Romanos," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, VIII, 1934, p. 79, and note 1: built 1526-34; garden front begun 1530; cf. Hartt, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 ff. A variation of the Villa Lante loggia recurs in the stairway to Giulio's house (*ibid.*, II, Fig. 488).

¹⁶ W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Literary Remains of Sebastiano Serlio," *The Art Bulletin*, XXIV, 1942, pp. 62 ff.

¹⁷ Drawings by Francesco di Giorgio and from the *Codex Escorialensis* are illustrated in Lotz, "Das Raumbild in der italienischen Architekturzeichnung der Renaissance," *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, VII, 1956, Abb. 8 and 28. The same type of decoration survives in S. Sabina. A common decoration that avoided conflict on the level of the arcade was a circle. This was used by Bramante in the spandrels of St. Peter's (cf. drawings, *ibid.*, Abb. 29-31). The oval version of the decoration survived in Rome and was used by Vignola under different circumstances in the court of Caprarola (Fig. 35).

to express the unity of the trabeated elements by allowing them to carry a rectangular device persisted in the north of Italy even when the ambiguity of the column spacing had been minimized. The result was a contrast between rectangular and curved elements concisely expressed on the level of the arcade (cf. Fig. 41).

The paired column arcade seems to be one of those eccentric creations of late Roman architecture that appealed to the Middle Ages. The arcade is found throughout Byzantine and Islamic architecture, whence it passed back into Western architecture of the later Medieval period. There are numerous Medieval examples of arcades on paired columns in northern Italy. Because of the strength of Medieval traditions in areas distant from Rome, this region was particularly suited to re-receive that ambiguous motive in its new classic disguise, and the dispersion of Roman artists caused by the Sack of 1527 gave a currency to developed Renaissance architectural thought that would otherwise have taken decades to accomplish. There is no need to trace the paired column arcade step by step down to the time of the Palazzo del Giglio. The most original and influential use of the motive is found in the works of Galeazzo Alessi, who used it as an exterior loggia in villas as well as in the cortile of the Palazzo Marino in Milan.¹⁸ Its greatest popularity was in Lombardy and Liguria, where it became standard. Owing to the failure of Palladio to sanction the motive it did not find the favor in the Veneto that might be expected from the Medieval prototypes. In Florence, the comparable development was based almost exclusively on the Venetian window form.¹⁹

Examples of the arcade can even be found near Rome. One, dating from the mid-sixteenth century, has recently been discovered within the portal loggia of the Villa Ruffina-Falconieri in Frascati.²⁰ There the spandrel decoration was a circle. This is much less decisive than the rectangles found in the North since it does not specifically continue the trabeated motive into the spandrels. And although paired column arcades were all but unknown

¹⁸ Giovanni Rocco, "Galeazzo Alessi a Milano," *Atti del IV Convegno Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura*, Milan, 1939, pp. 186 ff. See also *Palazzo Marino*, Milan, 1954, with bibliography, pp. 86 f. For Alessi's other works, see Grete Kühn, "Galeazzo Alessi und die genuesische Architektur im 16. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1929, pp. 145 ff., and Emmina de Negri, *Galeazzo Alessi architetto a Genova*, Genoa, 1957. The paired column arcade was used by Alessi in the Villa Cambiaso in Albaro, begun in 1548, where the loggia is very close to the loggia of the Palazzo Doria-Pamphili in Genoa (Venturi, XI, 2, Figs. 514-15. Venturi confuses Perino del Vaga's loggia, Fig. 513, with the apparently later loggia employing a paired column arcade.) The Palazzo Pamphili loggia is sometimes attributed to Montorsoli, who was in Genoa from 1543-47 according to Mario Labò ("Le ville genovesi," *Emporium*, LXXXVII, 1938, p. 134). These loggias are relatively unambiguous; Alessi's Mannerism can be seen developing in the early 1550's in the Villa Sauli and the Palazzo Marino.

¹⁹ The first step was the doubling of supports in the motive, as at the Uffizi (cf. the Villa Medici in Rome for a comparable example: Venturi, XI, 2, Figs. 380 and 886).

²⁰ Paolo Porthoghesi, "L'Opera del Borromini nel Palazzo della Villa Falconieri," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, XIV, 1956, p. 16, Fig. 19. See *The Art Bulletin*, XL, 1958, p. 358. The architect was apparently a Florentine, Nanni di Baccio Bigio.

in Rome, Guglielmo della Porta, who was Milanese, designed one that was never executed.²¹

Contemporary with the initiation of the Palazzo del Giglio is the cortile built by Pellegrino Tibaldi in his Collegio Borromeo of Pavia, a building begun in 1563 (Fig. 41).²² Here Tibaldi built the first monumental superposed arcades employing the paired column motive. Although generally following Alessi, Tibaldi stripped the arcades of Alessi's almost tropical efflorescences and let them stand out quite bare before the corridors behind. Like the Milanese and Genoese examples before it, Tibaldi's arches alternate with a rectangular decoration above the columns. This reinforces the identity of the paired columns while adding a vertical emphasis that tends to make the observer read the motive as a unit.

The uncertain date of the Palazzo Borghese court makes it doubtful whether the Collegio Borromeo can be considered a true predecessor, although it could at least have influenced Longhi in his continuation of the court for Cardinal Deza in 1586 and after. Trabeation is minimized in the Borghese court by the close coupling of the columns (Figs. 32 and 58).²³ This close coupling makes us more fully aware of the ambiguities of the northern *cortili* that have just been mentioned. In contrast to these, the columns in the Roman court tend to be read as single supporting elements rather than as trabeated sections alternating with an arcade. By comparison, even the Collegio Borromeo colonnade seems ambiguous. In its close pairing of the columns the Borghese court is reminiscent of some other sixteenth century loggias, such as those of the earlier Doria-Pamphili palace and the Loggia dei Banchi in Genoa.²⁴ But in contrast to these northern loggias the Borghese cortile seems always to have avoided any vertical connection between paired columns and the next story. The ultimate effect of the cortile, before the upper arcades were glazed, was that of an arcaded screen. With a certain amount of reason Riegl here found "Barockstimmung,"²⁵ since the usual Roman arcades with their applied pilasters are very much more rigid and precise in form. But the contrast between the Borghese cortile and the usual Roman examples is not one of Renaissance and Baroque, but of two different traditions of Renaissance architecture. The typical Roman cortile, based on the study of antique remains, was essentially a wall articulated by a pilaster order and penetrated by arched openings (Fig. 44). The continuity of

²¹ Published by Georg Gronau, "Über zwei Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta in der Düsseldorfer Kunstakademie," JKPK, XXXVIII, 1918, pp. 171-200, illustrated p. 189.

²² Baroni, *L'Architettura lombarda da Bramante al Richini*, Milan, 1941, pp. 127 f. Hans Hoffmann, "Die Entwicklung der Architektur Mailands von 1550-1650," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, IX, 1934, p. 73. Cf. G. Rocco, *Pellegrini, l'architetto di S. Carlo e le sue opere nel Duomo di Milano*, Milan, 1939. I have not seen Baroni, *Il Collegio Borromeo*, Pavia, 1937.

²³ As it happens, some of these features appeared in Serlio's posthumous seventh book, published in Germany in 1575 and included in the Venice quarto of 1584.

²⁴ For the Palazzo Doria, see p. 26, note 18 above; the Loggia dei Banchi is in Venturi, XI, 3, Fig. 641. Although it is now usually attributed to Vannone, Labò (in Thieme-Becker, s.v. Vannone) attributes it to Alessi.

²⁵ *Barockkunst in Rom*, Vienna, 1908, p. 133.

wall and pilaster planes is basic for the motive, and the arches punched into this wall are rigidly subordinated to the governing mass. It is the plane and mass of the wall that shape the space of the court within.

In contrast to this, a columnar arcade has much less planar continuity (Fig. 42). Columns and arches stand as indecisive screens, while the space moves freely in and out. This columnar architecture is essentially spatial, and its home was in the North during the Renaissance and even in the Baroque.²⁶ Northern spatial architecture and Roman mural architecture are two constants in this period. The parallel between these two architectural tendencies and the *dise-gno-colore* antithesis in painting is a real one.

The paired column motive employed in the Borghese cortile does not change but rather enlivens the spatially active qualities of the simple arcade on single columns. With paired columns the momentary effects of light and shade are heightened, while the transitional and imprecise nature of the round columns blurs the contrast between the arcade plane and the space behind. This is emphasized by the paired supports themselves, which frame thin slices of uncommitted space. The column, with its indeterminate pictorial qualities of light and shade, is an instrument of motion. Its introduction into a late sixteenth century Roman cortile represented a step similar to that taken later at S. Susanna, where Maderno revolutionized Roman church façades by using free-standing and engaged columns instead of pilasters. But unlike S. Susanna, the del Giglio-Deza cortile was a relatively static work wholly within the formal limits of sixteenth century architecture. The presence of paired columns lends an impression of strength but at the same time sets up a motion on the plane of the arcade, since the ambiguity of the paired column motive prevents it from being wholly static. This surface movement, combined with the spatial qualities of the columns themselves, gives an effect of great power and richness.

II. ATTRIBUTION.

We must now ask when and by whom this fascinating courtyard was begun. It would seem logical to assume that the del Giglio palace already had the beginnings of a court, which is to say a loggia behind the single block that was built. The document of sale does not specifically mention one (Doc. 3), but it does speak of a number of columns included in the transaction—columns that must have been brought to the site for the purpose of building the arcade. Moreover, the Deza *scarpellino* contract of 12 December 1586 specifically mentions three sides of the court to be constructed (Doc. 6). To leave no doubt, it speaks of bases, columns, and arches to be executed "like those that are in place."²⁷

²⁶ Cf. Wittkower, "S. M. della Salute and the Venetian Baroque," *JSAH*, XVI, 1, 1957, pp. 3-10.

²⁷ Doc. 6: "come quele che sono in opera." There is of course the possibility that these arches were hurriedly thrown up between the purchase by Deza in May and the date of the document six months later. But since we know from Doc. 4 that the roof was underway only in August, and since

As is shown in Doc. 7, nothing was done to the palace between the death of Bishop del Giglio in 1578 and its sale to Deza in 1586. Thus the court arcade continued by Deza in 1586 was apparently begun by del Giglio before 1578 and employed the same double columned motive. We cannot know whether the presumed del Giglio arcade was itself planned as the beginning of a court, or as a loggia.²⁸ Nevertheless, it is important to establish the strong possibility that a paired column arcade *was* begun by del Giglio because the keystones of what would have been his arcade now bear the Deza arms.²⁹

Since the façade clearly shows Vignola's style, it may be supposed that he also furnished drawings for the court—although as executed the court shows no Vignolesque characteristics. A paired column arcade does not fit so readily into the accepted ideas of Vignola's later style as did the del Giglio façade. Recently a related arcade has been shown to be Vignola's; it is dated 1563 (Fig. 34).³⁰ This work underscores Vignola's continual search for variety with a classic framework. Indeed, the only arcade he never used was the traditional Roman Tabularium motive with a facing of single pilasters. In the period we are discussing he was particularly concerned with the development of monumental court arcades that were at the same time rhythmic and structurally sound. The first of these was the Caprarola court, where an arcade on piers was given a facing of engaged, paired columns (Fig. 35). This usage was derived from Bramante (Fig. 38).³¹ At the same time the pier itself was perforated so that it approached an arcade on paired piers. The same devices appear in Piacenza, where the court employed a motive that can almost be called a paired pier arcade (Fig. 43). This arcade was to have been faced with paired pilasters, or, according to one project, half columns like those at Caprarola.³² Such courts point the way to Vignola's experimentation with the paired column arcade in the early 1560's.

It is known that Vignola continually stored away architectural motives for consideration at a later time. Much of his later style can be seen to derive from youthful experience, and the paired column arcade may have been such a case.

other workmen were hired for what must have been urgent internal building and repairs only in October (Doc. 5), this hypothesis is not very attractive. It would imply, moreover, that Deza had hired workmen, fired them after some work was done, and then hired a new man to continue the work. This is evidently improbable. Nevertheless, the arches now bear the Deza arms on their keystones (see note 29 below).

²⁸ Doc. 6 does not specify any corner piers in place when work began in December 1586.

²⁹ These keystones seem to be single blocks of stone on which the Deza arms were carved; they are now painted. The presence of carved arms on the keystones seems to prove that the arches were finished by Deza if not in fact begun by him (see note 27 above). Probably del Giglio's arcade or loggia was under construction but unfinished when work stopped on or before 1578. This would account for the unused columns on the site when Deza bought the palace (Doc. 3); it would account for the parts of the arcade "in opera" in December 1586; and it would also explain the completion of the arches with the new keystones.

³⁰ Angelo Sacchetti Sasseti, "Opere sconosciute del Vignola," *Per la storia dell'arte nel Rinascimento*, (Archivi, Quaderno no. 1), Rome, 1956, pp. 21-28.

³¹ See p. 25, note 17 above.

³² See the drawings reproduced by A. Terzaghi. "Piani originali del Vignola per il palazzo Farnese di Piacenza," *Arte antica e moderna*, I, Tav. 147-49 and p. 381. Cf. p. 9, note 28.

Vignola was from north Italy, where the paired column arcade found most favor.³³ He was, moreover, greatly influenced by Peruzzi.³⁴ We have seen that Peruzzi designed paired column arcades and bequeathed the idea to Serlio who illustrated several in his book (Figs. 40 and 37).³⁵ Despite this acquaintance with the paired column arcade, Vignola made no use of the motive during the 1540's and 1550's. As in other cases, his own evolution had not led him to the arcade at that time, and Vignola's use of architectural elements and motives was always the result of a highly rational internal development. This underlines the significance of the tabernacle for the Cathedral of Fara Sabina, dated 1563 (Fig. 34).³⁶ The fact that he should employ a paired column arcade in a tabernacle for an obscure country town would seem to prove that he had already been thinking about such arcades in a different context. Vignola was anything but impetuous in his artistic thought.

The date 1563 for the Fara Sabina tabernacle is not a coincidence; we have seen that the del Giglio palace was begun between 1560 and 1566. In view of the securely documented tabernacle, and with the acceptance of the solid arguments pointing to him as the architect of the del Giglio façade, Vignola's responsibility for the court motive becomes quite possible. As in the case of the façade, no other architect in Rome was thinking in this way at the time.

Vignola was undergoing a classicistic evolution during his later years, and we have seen that his façades display an interest in what might be called the pre-High Renaissance: the architecture of ca. 1500. Perhaps he derived an interest in the columnar arcade from the same source (Fig. 42).³⁷ It might be maintained that Vignola in the courtyard of the Palazzo del Giglio tried to capture some of the airy spaciousness of the Cancelleria court by following its general form. But an arcade on single columns for an entire cortile was too antiquated and weak both in appearance and structure to appeal to Vignola. This consideration may have led him to pair the columns, and by so doing he achieved the kind of rhythmic support that he had already evolved in his use of the arcade on paired piers.

Throughout Vignola's later career the light yet powerful qualities of paired elements appear and reappear. Their final development is in the nave of the Gesù, where the purity of his late classicism is most apparent.³⁸ The road travelled by Vignola in the ten years that separate Caprarola and the Gesù can be

³³ For a Bolognese example, see p. 33, note 44 below.

³⁴ For Peruzzi and Giulio Romano as sources of Vignola's style, see Coolidge, p. 200, note 163.

³⁵ See p. 24, note 11 and p. 25, note 16 above.

³⁶ See note 30 above.

³⁷ Although Vignola apparently never built a single column arcade, loggias of this type are spotted throughout the Munich drawing that seems to reflect the projects for the Piacenza palace. (Lotz, "Vignola-Zeichnungen," JKPK, LIX, 1938, pp. 107 ff., thought this disputed drawing recorded Vignola's project; cf. his *Vignola-Studien*, pp. 70 ff. A. Terzaghi, *op. cit.*, p. 384, attempts to refute the connection with Piacenza while admitting the similarity to the Piacenza projects.)

³⁸ Illustrated in Venturi, XI, 2, Fig. 709. Cf. Lotz, "Architecture in the Later 16th Century," *College Art Journal*, XVII, 1958, p. 136.

epitomized by comparison of the heavy Caprarola court motive with that of the Gesù nave. The Piacenza court is transitional between them.

Within this development the Palazzo del Giglio would represent a specific moment that Vignola must have found a dead end. Even more than Caprarola, the del Giglio palace was a revision of Roman architecture of ca. 1500. This revision may have led him, in the court, to design an ambiguous Mannerist motive—the arcade on coupled columns. The conflict and lack of resolution inherent in the motive must have troubled Vignola, and he soon rejected the arcade as too ambivalent, too unresolved for the kind of classic architecture that he was trying to achieve. Vignola's brief use of the paired column motive probably did not signify any desire to return to the ambiguous designs of his predecessors. Rather, he was attempting to strengthen and revive an earlier columnar tradition.

To sum up the evidence for Vignola's authorship, it must first be stated that if the façade was designed by him, the court would normally have been his conception as well. The evidence of the Fara Sabina tabernacle points to Vignola's use of the paired column arcade by 1563, and this strengthens the whole attribution of the Palazzo del Giglio to Vignola. We have seen in Chapter 1 that the del Giglio façade must follow closely the designs for Piacenza and Caprarola of 1558–1560. Furthermore, we have seen that del Giglio probably began his palace during his Roman residence of 1560–1562. All of these arguments support one another and increase the likelihood that a paired column arcade of some kind was designed by Vignola for the Palazzo del Giglio in 1560–1562.

As executed, however, the individual elements of the Borghese cortile show none of Vignola's personal style and none of the care that he habitually gave to architectural members (Fig. 32). The Fara Sabina arcade springs from widely spaced columns, while the Borghese columns are closely spaced. The evidence of Caprarola, Piacenza, and Fara Sabina points to Vignola's continuing use of alternating wide and narrow bays in his court motives. The Borghese court does not follow this pattern. The closely paired columns form, visually, an almost unified support. Such coupling of the paired columns is not Vignollesque.

Vignola's participation in the execution becomes even more remote when we consider the superposed arcades as a single design. Bases, architraves, and other members are identical for both stories. Such usage would have been impossible for Vignola, who was always fussy in his use of the orders.³⁹ The drawing of 1610–12, previously mentioned, shows that the arches of the upper floor were originally reflected within the loggia by large niches in the wall (Fig. 79). These niches were not continued along the flanking walls that were built under Cardinal Deza. This may or may not indicate that the upper loggia was also built or planned under del Giglio, but the conjunction of arches and niches behind

³⁹ Cf. Coolidge, "Arched Loggie," *Marsyas*, IV, p. 73.

seems to reflect the monumental thinking of an architect like Vignola rather than the hesitant design of Deza's architect, Martino Longhi il Vecchio. On the other hand, the upper Ionic arcades may all have been built by Longhi, either for Deza or even for del Giglio in the 1570's. Certainly the forms of the capitals are identical to those added under Deza, and they are unlike Vignola's.⁴⁰

Under the circumstances, it seems wise to consider that any elements of the court arcade that were built by del Giglio were executed after Vignola's death, during del Giglio's Roman stay of 1572-76. Only this possibility would explain the un-Vignolesque qualities that inform it. In contrast to the façade, the court arcade can be connected with Vignola only in the loosest sense. Given the probability of his responsibility for the palace design in the early sixties, and given his brief experiment with the paired column arcade in these very years, it is quite possible that he left a sketchy plan for a court or loggia employing the motive. But if so, this first idea was executed by another man and in a different spirit.

It is almost useless to speculate who could have been the executant architect, although two possibilities stand out: Martino Longhi il Vecchio and Ottaviano Mascarino. Longhi is first known in Rome in 1569⁴¹ and Mascarino by 1575.⁴² Since Longhi continued the palace for Deza, it is possible that he was already associated with its construction under del Giglio. As executed, the court may indeed be his.

At this point it would be well to interject a word of warning. We are used to thinking of the Palazzo Borghese as a work by Martino Longhi, and it is probably fixed in many people's minds that Longhi was an architect who favored the paired column arcade. He was, moreover, a Lombard, and we have seen that this area was particularly rich in columnar arcades. Longhi rarely betrays his Lombard origins in his other works, however, nor was he an architect who instinctively used the column. In this respect Vignola remained far more the northerner than did Longhi. From his early years in the shadow of Vignola until his death, Longhi remained an uninventive, timid architect whose only contribution to Roman architecture was the delicate, elaborately incised surface ornament that he applied to simple planes. In none of his Roman palaces did he use a columnar arcade. In fact, the only time he ever employed columns in any form was in his reconstruction of the portico of S. M. Maggiore, where he was merely re-using old elements of the Medieval columnar portico. Neither in his buildings nor in

⁴⁰ Fig. 30 shows the difference between the capitals with canted volutes of the Deza second story and those of the Borghese addition. Although the evidence is not conclusive, the Deza capitals are very similar to those used by Longhi in other places.

⁴¹ See below, pp. 83 ff. Dr. Hess has suggested (orally) that Longhi probably came to Rome under the Milanese Pope Pius IV (1559-65). This seems reasonable since he was already called "architetto" in 1569, when he was clearly a trusted assistant or associate of Vignola.

⁴² See below, p. 87, note 30. His fresco in the Sala Bolognese at the Vatican is dated 1575 (see note 44 below). The only important study of Mascarino is that by Golzio on some of his drawings.

his surviving drawings did he ever use any arcade other than the simple Tabularium motive with pilasters.⁴³

On the other hand, Mascarino brought the paired column motive with him from Bologna; one of his first Roman works was a painted perspective of a paired column loggia.⁴⁴ The arcade often appears in his architectural drawings as a court or loggia, and in other forms.⁴⁵ Moreover, the free-standing column was one of the most characteristic features of Mascarino's art. It is found in the oddly Quattrocentesque court of the Palazzo del Commendatore di Santo Spirito as an arcade on single columns.⁴⁶ Columns recur in the powerfully articulated interior of his masterpiece, S. Salvatore in Lauro.⁴⁷

None of this can prove anything with regard to the del Giglio court. But it is mentioned in order to show the quite different artistic personalities of two architects who are usually considered complementary. If the suggestion is accepted that the Borghese court is derived from a sketch by Vignola, it does not matter too much whether its earliest execution was in the hands of Longhi, Mascarino, or another. But if the suspicion persists that it was, in fact, the design of another architect, it becomes crucial. Although the discussion has here been limited to Longhi, no known Roman architect of the late sixteenth century, apart from Vignola and Mascarino, seems to have designed arcades on paired columns.

⁴³ The stylistic discrepancy between the Palazzo Borghese and some of his other works was noted by Giovannoni, p. 199, who, however, considered it typical of the age. The cortile of the Palazzo Borghese has been the cause of considerable unrest among those who interest themselves in these matters, although to my knowledge Antonio Muñoz was the first to go so far as to publish the opinion that the arcade could not be by Longhi (*Domenico Fontana architetto* [Quaderni Italo-Svizzeri, 3], Rome, [1944], p. 21, where he attributed it all to Ponzio. This opinion was also expressed independently by Guglielmo de Angelis d'Ossat, "L'Autore del più bel cortile di Roma barocca," *Strenna dei romanisti*, XIX, 1958, pp. 45-48).

The recent discovery of Longhi's activity at Bosco Marengo (see p. 84 below) may be significant in this regard. Apart from the association with Vignola that the position seems to imply, there is a paired column arcade employed in the upper level of the cloister. It is not yet clear whether this was executed later, at the time of the dome construction. In any event, it breaks noticeably with the traditional arcades below. If the design could be proved to be Longhi's, ca. 1568, little doubt would remain that the execution of the first Palazzo Borghese arcades was his work as well.

For other aspects of Longhi's style, see p. 16, note 55.

⁴⁴ In the Sala Bolognese of the Vatican (illustrated in Jacob Hess, *Agostino Tassi*, Munich, 1935, Tafel Va). This was derived from Tommaso Laureti's decoration in the Palazzo Vizzani in Bologna, recorded in an engraving dated 1562 published by E. Danti, *Le due regole...*, Rome, 1583, p. 88. Cf. Franzsepp Würtenberger, "Die manieristische Deckenmalerei in Mittelitalien," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, IV, 1940, pp. 89 ff. (with the date 1575 for the Sala Bolognese of Mascarino), and Abb. 41.

Mascarino's Bolognese, and especially Vignolesque, background is emphasized by the fact that his father Giulio was one of the masons for Vignola's bridge over the Samoggia (Lotz, "Vignola-Zeichnungen," p. 115). Coolidge, *Studies on Vignola* (unpublished thesis on deposit at the Department of Fine Arts, New York University), 1947, p. 14 and note 40, thought that Mascarino could have been the executor of the Porta S. Isaias in Bologna, which he accepts as a work designed by Vignola.

⁴⁵ E. g., Golzio no. 104 in the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome.

⁴⁶ Golzio, pp. 179 ff.

⁴⁷ Illustrated in Venturi, XI, 2, Fig. 877. The crossing dates from 1727.

The Palazzo Borghese apart, few other examples of the paired column arcade survive in Rome, and these are of later date. One is in the Palazzo Maccarani on Via Margana.⁴⁸ Another is in the Palazzo Patrizi, and may be the work of G. B. Mola.⁴⁹ Neither of these is comparable to the Borghese court. But while the del Giglio-Deza-Borghese experiment was never repeated, certain early seventeenth century developments seem to show its influence. Flaminio Ponzio, the Borghese architect who completed the cortile, favored the motive and used it on the façade of S. Sebastiano f.l.m., built in 1612-13. In addition, the arcade was proposed by Cigoli in a palace project of 1611-12 for Scipione Borghese's garden on the Quirinal, but the plan was never carried out.⁵⁰

Early Baroque architects in Rome reintroduced columns in arcades for the sake of movement and chiaroscuro effects. In general, however, it was some modification of the Palladian motive that was used after ca. 1620. One example is the court rebuilt by Maderno in the Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi, where the pictorial qualities of an arcade on columns have been combined with a bundled pilaster order.⁵¹ It will be seen that the Palazzo Borghese is not important for this Baroque development.

Despite its failure to produce fruitful imitation and development, the del Giglio-Deza cortile was neither a mere novelty nor a freak. It appears in Rome as an early sign of boredom with the old formula. Other attempts to vary the traditional Roman court motive are found in some of the later palaces of della Porta; his adaptation of the Tabularium motive,⁵² and the Early Baroque revival of the Palladian motive, stand behind the important seventeenth century achievements.

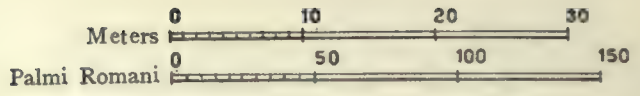
⁴⁸ Letarouilly, I, Plate 48; I have never seen this court.







⁴⁹ Illustrated in *ibid.*, Plate 20. This cortile can hardly date from the remodeling by the Aldobrandini (cf. Tomei, p. 222, no. 56). The Anonymous 1660, fol. 29, says the palace is by della Porta, with new stair, loggia, and portal by G. B. Mola. Since this manuscript is our chief source for the works of Mola († 1665) and seems to have been written by someone close to him, the information is probably correct.

⁵⁰ This will be discussed in a forthcoming article.

⁵¹ Cf. Schiavo, *La Fontana di Trevi*, Rome, 1956, pp. 246 ff. This use of the Palladian motive should be compared with its similar appearance shortly afterward in the nave of S. Ignazio.

⁵² I have in mind the arcade derived from Michelangelo's upper story of the Farnese court that is used in his loggia at the rear of that palace. The upper floor of the Palazzo Maffei-Marescotti court is also significant, if it is in fact by della Porta: cf. W. Arslan, "Forme architettoniche. . .," *Bollettino d'arte*, VI, 1927, Figs. 7 and 11.



-  Del Giglio (1560-1578)
-  Deza (1586-1600)
-  Borghese (1605-1607)
-  Borghese (1607-1612)
-  Borghese (1612-1614)
-  Borghese (after 1620)

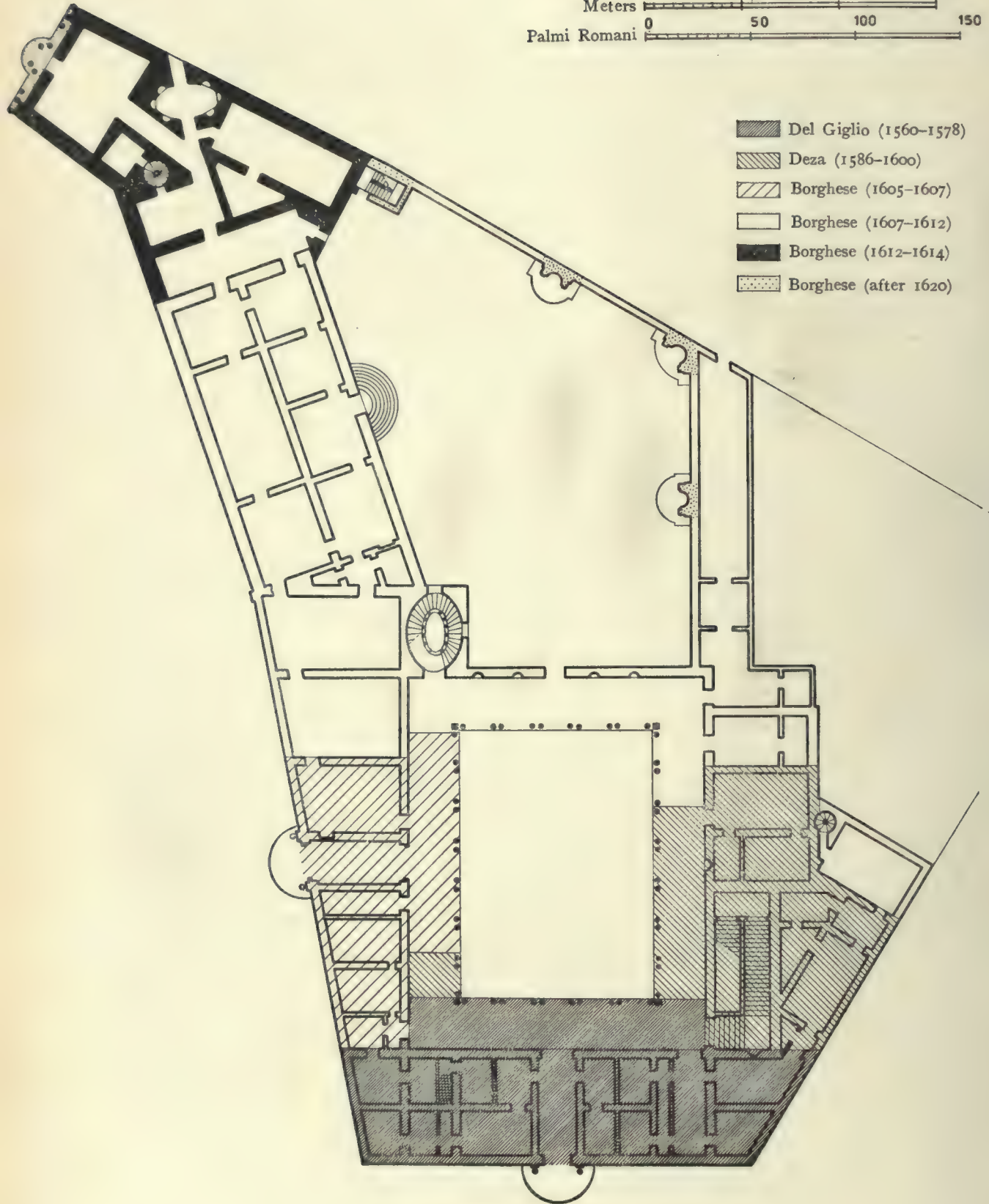


Fig. 1.

CHAPTER 3

THE PALAZZO DEZA

After del Giglio's death in 1578 the palace remained unroofed and uninhabited while his nephews fought out the inheritance (Docs. 7 and 8).¹ By 1586 it had fallen into disrepair, as Doc. 7 states, because the presumed owner, Giovanni del Giglio, was unwilling and unable to do anything to improve its condition until the succession was settled. On 14 May 1586 the palace was sold to Cardinal Pedro Deza (1520-1600),² but only in 1589 was the inheritance dispute finally settled in favor of Giovanni del Giglio (Doc. 8).

Deza bought the palace for ∇ 16,000;³ an *avviso* of 1586 hints that his arrival would not be good news to the brothel keepers.⁴ The instrument of sale describes a "new palace" with unused columns, including two large ones in the piazza before the façade (Doc. 3). We have seen that the del Giglio palace block was complete to the roof and that it most probably had at least the beginnings of the court arcade behind.⁵ Its presumed extension is shown in the reconstruction plan (Text Fig. 1).

Deza immediately set about finishing the palace (Docs. 4-6),⁶ employing the architect Martino Longhi il Vecchio (Doc. 4). This document is the only one mentioning Longhi (actually it speaks only of a "Martino architetto"), but it implies that he was the architect of the palace. The *avvisi* of 1587 offer further

¹ Marcantonio del Giglio was made Bishop of Forlì on 1 August 1578 and died 21 August 1580 (Ferdinando Ughello, *Italia sacra sive de episcopis italiae* . . . , II, Venice, 1717, col. 587, no. 50). This left Giovanni Battista to litigate with Annibale, who had been given property by Tommaso in a deed of 1574 (cf. Doc. 7).

² Doc. 3. An *avviso* of 21 May 1586 (*Urb. lat.* 1054, fol. 210) says: "Il Cardinal Dezza ha compro per ∇ 17,000 il Palazzo del Giglio posto in capo all'Ortaccio stanza propria et debita à spagnuoli." On 24 May (fol. 221 v): "S'afferma che'l Cardinal Dezza habbia compro il Palazzo del Giglio presso all'ortaccio per ∇ 16,000." Deza had studied at Salamanca and later occupied the chair of Law there. He became president of the Chancellory of Granada in 1569. After a distinguished career as an ecclesiastical servant of Philip II, Deza was made a cardinal in 1578; he came to Rome in 1580. See Lorenzo Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' Cardinali*, V, Rome, 1793, pp. 168-71; and *Biografia ecclesiastica completa*, Madrid, 1851.

³ This shows the incomplete palace to have been valuable. The Borghese paid only ∇ 18,000 for the entire Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia in 1609 (Orbaan, p. 195), and other examples of this sort could be cited.

⁴ An *avviso* of 9 July (*Urb. lat.* 1054, fol. 306) says: "Detto Cardinale (Deza) attende à finir il Palazzo delli Giglii, che ha comprato con poco guadagno dell'Ortaccio di tal vicinità à lui contiguo, perchè à gli huomini di quella tempra, come sono i suoi cortegiani piace spendere il talento honestamente."

⁵ Cf. Docs. 4 and 6 and pp. 28 f. above.

⁶ See note 4 above.

evidence that Longhi was Deza's architect at this time.⁷ Beginning with Totti in 1638 and Baglione in 1642, all later writers attributed the Deza palace to Longhi.⁸

A workers' contract of 10 October 1586 is preserved (Doc. 5), and a long contract of 13 December for stonework permits a rough reconstruction of what had been executed under del Giglio and what still remained to be built (Doc. 6; cf. Text Fig. 1).⁹ This document shows a rectangular, closed cortile to have been planned from the beginning. Balustrades for the court are mentioned, but we do not know whether any were already there; nowhere does the document definitely indicate the presence of the upper Ionic order. Doors and windows were to be made like those already in place. Since the record mentions existing attic windows, we can assume that the basic features of the façade were complete in the del Giglio period. This is borne out by Doc. 4, which shows that the palace was ready to be roofed when Deza bought it. The frieze was then given the Deza arms, and the same heraldry appears between the modillions of the cornice.

Probably little work was actually done on the cortile in the 1580's—certainly nothing like what was contracted in Doc. 6; the arcades behind the del Giglio block were presumably completed, however, and since they carry the Deza arms there is the possibility that the entire arcade in its present form dates from the Deza period. In addition, the main block of the palace was presumably finished inside and out. The main stair must have been begun in the adjoining wing (Figs. 46-47). This work may have stopped by 1589, for in September of that year Pope Sixtus V (1585-90), with his usual enthusiasm, had determined to convert Deza's palace into part of a huge complex destined to house the Slavic and Polish Colleges,¹⁰ but nothing ever came of the plan.¹¹ The mercurial Pope must soon have changed his mind, and Deza went on with his palace. In August

⁷ In 1587 the Pope ordered Deza to commission a model for a new church dedicated to S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni, to which Deza had just been appointed titular cardinal. This is shown by an *avviso* of 4 July 1587, *Urb. lat.* 1055, fol. 275, that says: "L'illustrissimo Dezza conforme all'ordine, che hebbe dal Papa, ha mostrato à Sua Beatitudine il modello d'una bella Chiesa, che vorebbe fare in quella istessa di San Geronimo à Ripetta della Schiavoni per memoria de essere stato titolo della Santità Sua..." Since the actual church is a documented work by Longhi of 1588-89, the inference is that he was initially commissioned by Deza (cf. p. 89).

⁸ See pp. 14 f. above.

⁹ See p. 107 below for an explanation of the *scarpellini*, *muratori*, etc. The extent of del Giglio's court arcade is discussed above, p. 29.

¹⁰ *Avviso* of 30 September 1589 (*Urb. lat.* 1057, fol. 624): "Nostro Signore ha fatto pigliare la misura del sito, et del Palazzo del Cardinale Dezza, designando unirlo all'hospedale et chiesa de Schiavoni à Ripetta, et di farvi venire ad habitare il Collegio della medesima natione, che si trova hora in Loreto." A later *avviso* mentions the Polish College as well (Pastor, X, p. 611, no. 67; cf. pp. 608, no. 56, and 609, no. 61). An *avviso* of 7 October (*Urb. lat.*, 1057, fol. 635 v) states: "Hora si dice di più, che'l Pontefice voglia ridurre nel Palazzo, che disegna comprare dal Cardinal Deza come scrissi per unirlo all'hospedale de Schiavoni..."

¹¹ The English and Italian translations of Pastor mistakenly make the *avviso* of 30 September 1589 assert that Deza's palace actually was pulled down.

1590 he petitioned for, and received, an additional *oncia* of water from the Acqua Vergine for his palace.²²

An expense estimate of 17 June 1592 informs us of the intention to build more of the court arcade (Doc. 9). This refers to the foundations for the arcade toward the *vicolo* (i.e., the Via di Monte d'Oro; cf. Fig. 47). On the attached list only four arches are mentioned with their eight columns (four pairs) and corner pier. This suggests that only the lower arches of that arcade were being built, since it mentions the arms on the keystones of the arches. The Deza arms on these keystones are executed in a different style from those of the five arches directly behind the main block (Fig. 29). The document also mentions the upper level, however, and specifically forty balusters (enough for five bays). The extent of Deza's construction can be determined precisely on this level since the form of his Ionic capitals was not followed by Flaminio Ponzio when he completed the court for the Borghese. The Deza capitals have volutes that are canted slightly from the plane of the cushion, while Ponzio's volutes are planar. The difference can be neatly observed between the fifth and sixth bay, where "Longhi's" capital on the right and Ponzio's on the left are paired (Fig. 30). These two meet between bays that, below, show the succession of Deza and Borghese heraldry on the keystones. Thus the termination of Deza's building can be seen on both levels of the court. Similar Ionic capitals are found in the part of the arcade under discussion, on the five bays behind the del Giglio block, and on the first column on the other side, around the corner. All of these upper arcades may have been built by Deza; moreover, a document of the Borghese period shows that Deza had made a beginning on a fourth side, or at least that the corner elements for a fourth wing were in place (Doc. 31, fol. 21). This would indicate that the cortile was planned as a square, five bays to a side, which is also shown by the balanced arrangement of the keystone heraldry, with the Deza castle in the center of the five arches.²³

The palace begun by del Giglio can hardly have been considered complete even when this work was finished. Only two sides of the court had been completed, although the other two were begun. These new arcades were left unstuccoed (Doc. 18) and the corresponding pilaster strips on the walls behind the arcades were not built (Doc. 17). The façade was complete. The side facing the Via di Monte d'Oro was built in part: a description of the palace of about this time states that it was 45 *passi*, or five bays, long.²⁴ On the side toward the present

²² ASV, *Instr. misc.*, 5376, 20 August 1590.

²³ For the possible character of the fourth wing of Deza's court, see below, p. 57, note 49.

²⁴ Tomei, p. 169, no. 18: "Il palazzo de Dezza ha la facciata dinanti di passi 40. Ha doi finestrati di nove finestre l'una, sotto otto ingenocchiate. La porta è nel mezzo. Il fiancho da man diritta di passi 45, da man sinistra è il fianco pochissimo." The façade measurement should evidently read "passi 60" since one *passo* equals .6702 meters (i.e., three *palmi romani*); 60 *passi* would give a façade of just over 40 meters, which is close to correct. (Romano, p. 90, gives the measurements in the same text as *passi* 70 and 44!) The manuscript itself says "passi 50" (badly written) for the façade. The number of windows per floor-nine-assures us that the façade was

Piazza Borghese little was actually completed; the cornice arms continue only past the first window, corresponding to the description quoted in note 14 as well as to the record of Borghese building that will be discussed below (cf. Text Fig. 1).

The final state of Deza's palace can best be imagined by referring to the 1593 Tempesta map (Fig. 33). Three stories of the incomplete cortile can be seen clearly. Tempesta shows the paired columns but not the arches that Doc. 9 proves to have been between.¹⁵ On the façade toward the viewer he has shown more than was really built. At the most there can have been two completed bays (Doc. 12).

By this time Deza was an aged man, but his ambitions for the palace did not wane. In the summer of 1595 he bought the rest of the old del Giglio property, including the old palace, from Giovanni del Giglio.¹⁶ Purchases continued and on 1 July 1600, houses next to the palace were measured and appraised (Doc. 10). The document shows Flaminio Ponzio to have been Deza's architect at this time. Deza was nearing the end of his life; an *avviso* of 1599 announced the intention of Cardinal Aldobrandini to buy the palace for the high sum of ∇ 100,000.¹⁷ In 1600 the *avvisi* spoke of the actual purchase of the entire site by the Aldobrandini for ∇ 80,000.¹⁸ This purchase never took place, perhaps because of Deza's approaching death, which occurred on 27 August 1600.¹⁹

then its present width, as it had surely been from the beginning. The flank of 45 *passi* would have been approximately 30 meters long, which is to say five complete bays. For the construction of the sixth bay, see below, p. 54, note 38.

¹⁵ This is partially because of his habitual method of treating an arcade (cf. his view of the Palazzo Farnese). Moreover, since the arcade toward the Via di Monte d'Oro was actually begun only after June 1592 (Doc. 9), he was certainly showing something that was still only planned or in course of construction. As is clear from Doc. 6, a paired column arcade was being built in 1586 in accordance with the beginnings already there. More of the arcade was built in the early 1590's (Doc. 9). Thus there can never have been even an idea of joining a paired column trabeation to the older paired column arcade, despite what Tempesta's map seems to show. This obvious inaccuracy, together with Tempesta's illustration of far more bays toward the viewer than were actually there, should be sufficient evidence that the Tempesta map is a trustworthy source of information only by comparison with other Rome maps of the period; no precise deductions can be made from it.

¹⁶ ASR, *Archivio dei Notari Capitolini*, Atti di Vincentius Panizza, 5074, fol. 516: 28 August 1595. The document was discovered by F. Cerasoli, "Notizie circa la sistemazione di molte strade di Roma nel sec. xvi," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, XXVIII, 1900, p. 353. Friedrich Noack, "Kunstpflege und Kunstbesitz der Familie Borghese," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, L, 1929, p. 202, gives the date of the sale as 8 July and the purchase price as ∇ 11,000, although the instrument of 28 August seems to indicate a price of ∇ 9,750.

¹⁷ *Avviso* of 22 September 1599 (*Urb. lat.* 1067, fol. 583 v): "Va Inanzi la prattica, che Il Cardinal Aldobrandino sia per comprare il Palazzo del Cardinal Dezza, et s'Intenda esserci offra di ∇ 100,000 ma che la cosa se ne stia più avanti, et che si potria concludere, et in vero che si potrebbe far il più bel luogo di Roma."

¹⁸ *Avviso* of 12 August 1600 (*ibid.*, 1068, fol. 521): "Il Cardinal Aldobrandino compra il Palazzo del Cardinal Deza con tutti li Palazzi, et case contigue per ∇ 80,000 con conditione però di lasciarlo godere al venditore, mentre vive."

¹⁹ *Vat. lat.* 7875, fol. 8: "1600. 27 Agosto † Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Cardinale Pietro Dezza nel suo palazzo" (taken from S. Lorenzo in Lucina). An *avviso* of 29 August (*Urb. lat.* 1068, fol. 543) states that he died the night of the 25th—"... huomo sopra 85 anni."

The Deza architect, Martino Longhi il Vecchio, has previously been mentioned.²⁰ When Deza hired him he had just been superseded by Domenico Fontana as papal architect. Among Longhi's original contributions to the palace is the cornice, which projects boldly from its supporting curved brackets. It was clearly not executed after a Vignola design and can quite plausibly be considered a development of the cornices seen in Longhi's earlier palaces.²¹ The heavily overhanging cornice with its deep shadow is clearly out of character with the façade below. Vignola's own cornices are built up vertically and have a relatively shallow projection; they stand above the façade rather than hang over it (Figs. 9, 10, 12, and 25). The cornice of our palace, although a work of some interest in its own right, undoubtedly changes the character of the façade from what was originally planned.

Longhi's role in the design of the cortile may have been more significant, however, for we have seen that the arcade behind del Giglio's palace bears the Deza arms, while the Ionic loggias above may have been Longhi's from the beginning. It is necessary to repeat that if this is so, there is nevertheless evidence that a columnar court was planned and under way under Tommaso del Giglio.

Only the stair and the shapes of a few rooms of the del Giglio-Deza block remain to record the interior of the early palace. The stair may have been begun under del Giglio, but most probably it was executed by Longhi for Deza (Figs. 45 and 46). The separation of this part of the palace from the del Giglio block seems to be shown on the drawing of 1610-12 (Fig. 79). In position the stair is traditional and should be compared to those built by Longhi in the Cesi and Altemps palaces in the 1570's.²² Like the similar but grander stair in the Palazzo Farnese, the Deza stair receives light from an air shaft behind. This light well signalled the end of organic construction on that side.

Since Longhi died in June 1591, the continuation of the cortile on the side of the Via di Monte d'Oro planned a year later (Doc. 9) cannot have been executed under his supervision. The architect in charge is unknown. But it seems reasonable to suppose that the elements built in the early 1590's were already planned by Longhi in the later 1580's (cf. Doc. 6), and thus it makes sense to speak of all the Deza construction as Longhi's. Certainly there is no change between the Ionic capitals of the first loggia and those built in the 1590's. Nevertheless, since Flaminio Ponzio was Deza's architect in 1600 (Doc. 10), it is quite possible that he succeeded Longhi upon the latter's death. This is all the more probable, if, as I believe, Ponzio was Longhi's pupil.²³

²⁰ In addition to Appendix I, see above, pp. 15 ff., and especially note 55.

²¹ E.g., his Palazzo Altemps, illustrated in Venturi, XI, 2, Figs. 801-02.

²² Compare the plan in Fig. 47 with that of the Palazzo Altemps in Letarouilly, II, Plate 169. The entrance arch leading to the Borghese stair is also like the Altemps.

²³ See p. 97 below.



PART II

THE PALAZZO BORGHESE

Il Cembalo di Borghese

il Dado di Farnese

il Portone di Carboniani

et la Scala di Gaetani

sono le 4 meraviglie Romane

CHAPTER 4

THE PALAZZO BORGHESE: 1605-1612

I. HISTORY OF CONSTRUCTION.

For the four years following Deza's death the palace was almost a hotel. In November of 1600 Raimondo della Torre, the Emperor's ambassador, lived in the palace.¹ In 1601 he was replaced by Cardinal d'Ascoli,² who was followed by Cardinal Piatti. On 3 October 1602, Cardinal Camillo Borghese signed a lease calling for rent of ∇ 1000 per annum.³ Borghese lived in the palace until elected Pope in 1605, but in the summer of 1604 there were rumors that Cardinal Doria had bought the palace for himself.⁴

In November 1604, Pope Clement VIII gave Borghese permission to incur a debt of ∇ 40,000 in order to buy the palace.⁵ The sale was confirmed by a *Breve* of 24 January 1605,⁶ and the means of payment through the Monte di Pietà are recorded in a document of 27 January.⁷ On 14 February 1605 a deed was drawn up settling the terms of the sale at ∇ 42,000.⁸ The arrangements were

¹ AB-306, no. 15, 18 February 1601: "Copia della locatione della Casa di Dezza al signore Raimondo della Torre Ambasciatore Cesario. . ." The lease was for three years.

² *Avviso* of 16 June 1601 (*Urb. lat.* 1069, fol. 346 v): "Il Cardinal d'Ascoli è andato a starsene nel palazzo del già Cardinale Dezza, ove stava ultimamente l'Ambasciator Cesareo. . . ma in ogni modo sebene detto Ambasciatore Cesareo non tornasse il Cardinal d'Ascoli non stare in quel Palazzo più che fin à 7mbre per Don Pietro Dezza si aspetta, et fa trattar di venderlo attendendoci Il Cardinale Aldobrandino" (see above, p. 40, notes 17 and 18).

³ The document is in AB-306, no. 16. An *avviso* of 2 November 1602 (*Urb. lat.* 1070, fol. 639) states: "Il Cardinal Piatti ha preso il Palazzo, dove stava il Cardinal Bonvisi in Trastevere havendo il Cardinal Borghese preso quello del Cardinal Dezza."

⁴ *Avviso* of 21 August 1604 (*ibid.*, 1072, fol. 431 v): "Il. . . Cardinal Borghese havendo inteso, che il Cardinal Doria habbia compro in Ispagna dagli heredi del Cardinal Dezza il Palazzo che ha qua, et dice hora habita Sua Signoria Illustrissima s'intende voglia esser preferito come inquilino nella Compra per il medesimo prezzo, et cosi detto Cardinal Doria bisognerà torni à provedersi di qualche altro, et sentendosi che il signor Ruccelai voglia vendere il suo potra fare attendere à questo." For another example of this practice, see Orbaan, p. 212.

⁵ Document of 19 November 1604 in AB-306, no. 18.

⁶ AB-306, no. 22.

⁷ AB-306, no. 21.

⁸ The deeds are in AB-309, no. 167. The Latin instrument of sale is in AB-310, no. 201, and is here summarized: "Public instrument of 14 February 1605 confirming the sale of the new palace in Campo Marzio concluded 19 January 1605 by Don Petrus de Deza and his wife Aldonsa, testamentary heirs to Cardinal Deza, to Cardinal Camillo Borghese. Sale includes the new palace once inhabited by Cardinal Deza and now by Cardinal Borghese, a stable, a barn, a coach house, a small house, a vegetable garden, the old palace behind the new one (the palace of Orazio Farnese-Poggio, etc.) with a big gate (the *cancello della legna*), columns, stones, bricks, and other things in the palace and outside. Price ∇ 42,000 at 10 Giuli per Scudo, paid in the presence of the notary to the banker Alessandro Ruspoli" (cf. Doc. 53).

not wholly satisfactory, however, and the litigation which carried on for more than twenty-five years can be traced in the documents of AB-306 and 307. When one considers that this property had cost Cardinal Deza almost ∇ 30,000 and that in addition he had built a portion of the palace himself, it will be seen that the price paid by Camillo Borghese was no more than it was worth.

Between the sale of the Palazzo Deza and Borghese's unexpected elevation to the papacy there elapsed barely three months. During this time Clement VIII died, Cardinal Medici was elected pope as Leo XI and died in turn. When Camillo Borghese emerged on 16 May 1605 as the compromise Pope, he was only fifty-two, the youngest pontiff Rome had seen in generations. In gratitude to Paul III, who had patronized his father, he took the name of Paul V. Before him stretched sixteen years of power.⁹

It seems unlikely that Borghese had made any definite plans to complete the palace during this busy spring. Since he had borrowed almost the entire price of the property, he may not have been in a position to undertake extensive building. His election changed all this, and he was soon to show many of the same instincts for large scale construction that had motivated Sixtus V twenty years earlier.

One of his early acts was to give his former residence and other property to his brothers Giovanni Battista and Francesco.¹⁰ Although the brothers legally owned the palace, its extension and transformation appears to have been as much a papal commission as the Pauline chapel in S. M. Maggiore. Work on both projects began in the first year of the pontificate, and both were directed by Paul's official architect, Flaminio Ponzio, who already had the title *Architetto di Nostro Signore* at the time of Paul's consecration in May.¹¹ A *chirografo* of 21 November assigned ∇ 36,000 to the brothers for the purpose of continuing the palace;¹² the first document for the new foundations is dated 9 December

⁹ The essential bibliography for the pontificate of Paul V can be found in Pastor, XII.

¹⁰ The donation is announced in a *motu proprio* of 8 December 1605 in AB-310, no. 220. An *avviso* of 14 December 1605 (*Urb. lat.* 1073, fol. 670) reports: "Nostro Signore ha finalmente conclusa la donazione del suo Palazzo con tutte le facoltà patrimoniali alli signori suoi fratelli, con questa condizione, che venendo li sudetti a morte resti al figliolo del signor Giovan Battista, et in evento morisse anco questi senza heredi, resti in tal caso al signor Cardinal Borghese, et poi succedano li signori Vittorij, nipoti di Sua Beatitudine, con questo che habbiano da pigliar il nome della famiglia Burghesia, et così hora si attende a finir, con molta diligenza il detto Palazzo, che si farà una macchina Reale."

¹¹ ASR, GT-30, 25 May 1605: "Nota delli lavori de festaroli per... Consecratione et Inconoronatione di Nostro Signore Papa Paolo Quinto..." (verso): "Io Flaminio Ponzi Architetto di Nostro Signore mano propria." The deputies on this occasion were Giovanni Antonio Pomis and Carlo Lambardi, who are found in similar documents earlier in the year, along with Bernardino Valperga.

¹² AB-306, no. 20. An *avviso* of 18 February 1606 (*Urb. lat.* 1074, fol. 84 v) states: "Li eccellentissimi signori fratelli del Papa sollecitano alla gagliarda la perfettione della fabrica del lor palazzo, per il quale dicesi che Sua Beatitudine habbia dato assegnamento di ∇ 100,000, ma il sito è sì grande, che fa bisogno di somma maggiore." A list of moneys donated by the Pope for the construction of the palace between 1605 and 1614 is in AB-310, no. 193. Papal chirographs concerning payments for the palace are found in AB-22.

(Doc. 11).¹³ This shows Ponzio to have been the architect from the beginning, and it is signed by Carlo Lambardi, one of the papal *misuratori*.¹⁴ Although Ponzio was undoubtedly the architect of the Palazzo Borghese, his official position made it impossible for him to supervise its construction closely; most of the building documents are signed by his assistants. Ponzio actually signed very few of the surviving documents, the latest in 1609.

In order to imagine the state of the palace when work started in 1605, the reader is referred to Text Fig. 1 (cf. Fig. 33). The façade with its cornice was complete and five bays had been built along the right flank (Fig. 5). The two attached sides of the court arcade, five bays each, had been built (Fig. 32), and substantial beginnings had been made on at least one of the remaining sides. The palace and its interior were essentially complete above and behind these arcades, and the Borghese architect consequently concentrated on completing the court and the west wing of the palace.

Following the foundation work mentioned in the document of December 1605, active construction began on the wing toward the present Piazza Borghese. On 1 May 1606 seven columns were hauled to the palace for the continuation of the cortile.¹⁵ On 22 June the first measurement of the new walls was undertaken by Ponzio, Carlo Lambardi, and Giovanni Antonio Pomis (Doc. 12). The document mentions two new rooms attached to the old building on the ground floor, followed by the new entrance. A glance at the plan of the palace (Fig. 47) will show these rooms (now subdivided) behind the four windows to the right of the side entrance. In addition, the walls for the new portal were built, and one more room was added beyond.

Early in October the Pope was reported to be very angry with his brothers, and work on the palace was supposedly suspended;¹⁶ but Paul V was too interested in the new building to be very firm, and later in the month he looked at

¹³ The same date is born by an announcement of the "22. Estrazione de luoghi 360. del Monte delle Provincie, & àgl'Infrascritti Montisti estratti sarà restituito il prezzo à ragione di scudi cento per luogo. . ." (AB-306, no. 25). This was for the purpose of raising ∇ 33,000 for payment of the palace. Further documents relating to the payment of the purchase price are in AB-306, no. 24.

¹⁴ The *misuratori* were the assistants to the papal architect. Ackerman, "Architectural Practice in the Italian Renaissance," *JSAH*, XIII, 3, 1954, p. 5, gives an illuminating outline of the organization of the *Fabbrica di S. Pietro* that can be used to clarify the relationships of the various assistants to the architect, although the *Fabbrica* was unique in its size.

¹⁵ AB-4168, 1 May 1606, speaks of a column of "Marmo bisio in doi pezzi tolta ha Santa Maria Magiori e portata al palazzo. . ." Others came from the gardens of Muzio Mattei, S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, the Orfanelli (S. M. in Aquiro), and three from S. Giovanni Decolato. For the numbers of grey and rose granite columns employed at the palace, see Letarouilly, text, p. 378.

¹⁶ An *avviso* of 7 October 1606 (*Urb. lat.* 1074, fol. 520) states: "Li fratelli di Sua Santità sono stati sempre poco amorevoli fra di loro, ma l'altro giorno uscirono dal manico perchè mostrarono il malanimo in publico, et però (sic) Nostro Signore li fece lunedì andar à Frascati dove anco andrà Sua Beatitudine mercordì prossimo. . ." A week later (fol. 554) the *avvisi* state: "Il papa ha ordinato che si sopra seda la fabrica del Palazzo delli fratelli di Sua Santità et che si finisca quella di Monte Cavallo dalle parte del giardino volendo farvi una bellissima Capella. . ."

it on his way to the Vatican.¹⁷ The walls first measured in June were finished by October (Doc. 13). Seven new windows in each of the two upper stories are mentioned, which completed a nine bay façade (Fig. 52; cf. Text Fig. 1). The position of the portal in the seventh bay seems to show that a thirteen bay facade was planned from the beginning. Nevertheless the first plans were changed in 1607-08, and a parapet built in the first construction period had to be destroyed early in 1608 (Doc. 22, fol. 3).¹⁸

Work on the cortile had also begun. The stonework for the new seven bay loggia was measured in November 1606 (Doc. 14). Eleven column bases, twelve capitals, five entablature segments, and their six dependent arches were made for the lower floor, re-using the first arch already built by Deza. A masons' document of December 1606 shows the thirteen columns and seven arches of the upper Ionic arcade in place (Doc. 15). Document 14 speaks of the juncture with the old loggia below and records the carving of three eagles and three dragons for the new keystones. This succession of Deza and Borghese heraldry can still be observed: the single fleur-de-lis of Deza's arcade is followed by six Borghese symbols.

The important work on this block of the palace was finished by mid-1607. The walls of the upper loggia facing the cortile and the roof above were finished by 15 February.¹⁹ By July the masons were doing only interior work and stuccoing.²⁰ On 24 July Ponzio signed a measurement for the woodwork, including ceilings.²¹ This period marks the end of Carlo Lambardi's association with the palace.²²

While this block was being completed, repairs and alterations were made in the older parts of the palace. A masons' document of 17 December shows that the paired Corinthian pilasters of the upper court façade were an addition of the Borghese period (Figs. 32 and 59); the earlier decoration had been simply paired strips without bases or capitals (Doc. 18). There were false balustrades painted in the bays of this upper loggia. By April of the following year the palace was habitable, and an *avviso* speaks of large scale interior decoration.²³

¹⁷ *Avviso* of 21 October 1606 (*ibid.*, fol. 546): "Essendosi messa una brava tramontana d'Improvviso, et per questo le stanze di Monte Cavallo non sendo horamai più buone, Nostro Signore d'Improvviso hiersera si risolve tornar a S. Pietro, et fece la strada del suo Palazzo, che fa fabricare."

¹⁸ A typical example of the lack of over-all plan discussed by Ackerman in "Architectural Practice," p. 9.

¹⁹ AB-306, no. 27.

²⁰ AB-4168 and AB-306, no. 27.

²¹ AB-4168.

²² The last document signed by him is of March 1607 (AB-4168), and he never again played a significant part in the Borghese building program. In addition to his career as a *misuratore* mentioned in note 11 above, Lambardi was an architect of some interest, and had apparently built impressive parts of what was later the Villa Aldobrandini a Magnanapoli in the early 1590's or before. He was buried in his chapel in S. M. in Via on 28 July 1619 according to *Vat. lat.* 7875, fol. 221; if so, he could not have died in 1620 as the chapel inscription, Baglione, and all later writers state.

²³ *Avviso* of 23 April 1608 (*Urb. lat.* 1076, fols. 287 v f.): "Si è veduto da due giorni in qua andar banderari al Palazzo che fanno fare li eccellentissimi fratelli di Sua Santità molto magnifico et bello, et lavorasi con diligenza per metter all'ordine tutti quelli appartamenti et stanze di ricchissimi

The palace was not allowed to remain in this state for long, however, and to pay for its extension the Pope levied a higher tax on pork.²⁴ New crews of masons and stonecutters were set to work, and the process outlined for the first phase of construction was more or less repeated. In this instance the contract for the foundations is preserved, dated 11 August 1607.²⁵ Word soon spread that the palace was to have still another enlargement; an *avviso* of October 1607 refers to it as a building on an imperial scale.²⁶ The mason Domenico Corto and his associates began work in September, and the walls were measured by Pomis in May 1608 (Doc. 21). The same month a new *scarpellino*, Stefano Longhi, began his work for the construction (Doc. 19).

The first four bays of the addition continued the section of the façade already begun and represent the breadth of the *salone*, which extends upwards from the *piano nobile* through the second floor. This addition gave the façade a total of thirteen bays, terminated toward the Ripetta by rusticated quoining (Figs. 52 and 64). The length of this façade was determined from the start by the presence of the old Palazzo Farnese-Poggio beyond that point, as can be seen on the fairly accurate Tempesta map (Fig. 33). At this time the old palace was incorporated into the new one: the following six bays correspond to the length of the older building (Fig. 52). The re-use of the old Palace explains the slight change in direction that the walls take at this point, veering at an obtuse angle to the southwest (Fig. 47). The commonly expressed opinion that this juncture represents the end of Longhi's palace and the beginning of Ponzio's was an understandable error.

Document 21 (fols. 6 ff.) records the immense amount of work done to transform the old building ("casa vecchia dove habitava il signor Enea"); an *avviso* of 2 January 1608 speaks of the last resident being evicted from the old buildings.²⁷ A garden loggia of three bays was closed (fol. 23), windows and doors were walled up and new ones put in. Through this old palace on the ground floor Ponzio built a gallery with an enfilade of six rooms. This early gallery was lower and more modest than the present one (see Chapter 6).

et belli drappi, et vogliono, che Nostro Signore in somma vi voglia andare a star questa estate, et per questo la diligenza, et tanta spesa de drappi, et di già il Palazzo è habitabile et havrà Sua Beatitudine 19 stanze bellissime ad un piano et quasi ad una fila, et adesso lavorano anco con diligenza una bellissima scala à lumache, come quella di Monte Cavallo, acciò le gente da una parte si possa salire, et dall'altra scendere senza disturbo."

²⁴ *Chirografo* of 27 June 1607, mentioned in AB-6095 ter, fol. 8 v, no. 6.

²⁵ AB-4168: "Copia delli Capitoli di mastro Domenico Corto muratore." Item 38 speaks of the work being done "... secondo il bisogno et pianta dell'Architetto. . ."

²⁶ *Avviso* of 3 October 1607 (*Urb. lat.* 1075, fol. 623 f.): "Nostro Signore fa continuar la fabrica del suo Palazzo alla Imperiale, per non dir alla Pontificale, con tutte le habitazioni et membri di stanze, che sono necessarie ad un Papa, onde si è detto, et Sua Santità se n'è lassate intendere che alle volte ci voglia andar ad habitar per spasso, et hora si va dicendo, che pensi Sua Beatitudine finito, che sarà di fabricar farlo comprar dalla Camera con anime pigliar un altro sito altrove per fabricare, ed in ogni modo mentre viverà il Papa, potranno anco goder il palazzo et il prezzo."

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1076, fol. 1: "... li fratelli di Sua Beatitudine lo (Enea Orlandini) cacciò dalle case contigue al lor Palazzo, che fabricano."

All told, ten more bays were added to what had become the long façade, and this was apparently meant to complete the palace (Text Fig. 2; cf. Figs. 47, 52, and 64). At the same time, the courtyard was completed by closing the fourth side with a two story arcade (Fig. 55; Docs. 21, fol. 21; 22, fol. 2, etc.). This arcade was originally closed at ground level on the far side, with four "finestre finte" in the outer bays and a door in the center leading to the garden (Fig. 61; Doc. 19, fol. 1). Thirteen column bases are mentioned although the loggia has only ten per floor. The extra three columns were needed to complete the adjoining Deza arcade, which had only five bays (in Doc. 21, fol. 3: "...comenciando dal cantone verso la cucina . . . della loggia vecchia. . .," and fol. 23, refer to the work on this side of the court; cf. Text Fig. 1). The four statues crowning the arcade on the upper level were set in place in 1610 (Doc. 38, fol. 3; Fig. 55). With this the cortile assumed its present form, five bays wide, seven long, with a bridge-like loggia linking the western extremities. In the exterior corner formed by this loggia and the new wing was built an oval stair allowing passage from the various levels of the court to the new western wing. At the same time it furnished the only means of passage on the second floor past the first floor *salone*, which was two full stories high (Figs. 48 and 49).

On 6 May 1608 the garden behind the new wing was walled in; this wall apparently corresponds to the present wall extending between the palace and the Via dell'Arancio (Fig. 47; Doc. 20). At the same time the area was levelled.²⁸ This resulted in a lower garden on the level of the Ripetta with a steep slope between it and the cortile that replaced the gradual slope from one end to the other that can be seen outside. The stairs leading down this slope into the garden were finished in 1609 (Doc. 35).

The wall fountains shown on the Greuter print of 1618 were built by 1610 (Fig. 63; Doc. 38). Apparently they were forerunners of the left and right fountains which are found in the garden today (Doc. 59). In July of 1608 the pipes bringing water to the garden were measured.²⁹ As early as 1606 a fountain was set up in the center of the garden (Doc. 14, fols. 6 and 7). It was of the type common in the period, with a small basin above a larger one, almost a meter in diameter. There was also a fountain near the stables, on the site of the present Ripetta wing (Doc. 38). All of these have disappeared.

In October 1607 the loggia wall opposite the new block was given travertine pilasters corresponding to the paired columns of the arcade (Doc. 17). In March 1608 old windows in the Deza loggia were replaced with new ones.³⁰ It would probably be correct to say that most of the decorative features within the court

²⁸ AB-4168, 19 April 1608. The work was measured by Pomis on 7 May.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 24 July 1608: "Misura e stima deli condoto quali porta laqua del cortile del palazzo alla fontana del Giardino. . ." According to a *breve* of 28 August 1613 (AB-6, no. 3), the Borghese palace had 34 *oncie* of water. Eight came from Deza (see p. 39, note 12 for one of them), twelve more had been given under Paul V, and finally fourteen were given to Prince Marc'Antonio Borghese (AB-6, no. 2). A later document (AB-6, no. 8) reports that the *Casa Borghese* had 57 *oncie*.

³⁰ AB-4168, 3 March 1608.

loggias are renewals of the Borghese period (Fig. 32). It is unlikely that Ponzio's window enframements differed from the old ones since they are all simple rectangles of flat travertine, but most of these windows are replacements of this period.

Early in July a second measurement records the masonry built since May, and two stonemasons' documents of the same month allow the progress of the spiral stair and garden loggia to be followed with precision (Docs. 22-24). The second *scarpello* document mentions in addition to the expected work a *loggetta* overlooking the garden. This little balcony was in the bay beyond the oval stair, in the triangle formed by the changed angle of the building at that point on the piazza side (Fig. 48; cf. Docs. 22, fol. 8; 24, fol. 1).³¹ The masons' work for the *loggetta* was measured in September 1608 (Doc. 28, fol. 11). It was not in existence for long, although it is visible in the drawing of 1610-12 (Fig. 77); by 1615 it had already been changed.³² This bay and the next one were covered by the nineteenth century extension of the stair block to form new rooms (Fig. 88).

Work continued on these additions for over a year. In September, foundations were laid for the end of the palace toward the Ripetta (Doc. 28). By October, considerable amounts of stonework were finished, including the balustrade on the loggia toward the garden (Doc. 29). More stonework was measured in February 1609 (Doc. 30). The ornaments over the door to the spiral stair were finished (Fig. 62) and additional Ionic capitals cut for the court; still more was finished in March (Doc. 32). In February new roofs were measured and the top floor on the old side of the cortile extended (Doc. 31). This document shows that the old Deza loggia was planned as a square, five bays on each side, since it mentions the removal of columns from the spot where the old corner had been ("... dove prima risvoltava la loggia").³³ Ten columns were hauled to the palace in April and two more in July, indicating that the arcades on the fourth side were still not all in place (Docs. 33 and 37). These, and an earlier document (on p. 47, note 15), show with what ease ancient columns were still to be acquired in Rome. A final *scarpello* measurement took place in July (Doc. 35). On 15 July the three colossal statues were set up in the court (Fig. 58; Doc. 36). They had been bought for ∇ 500 (Doc. 54).

In November one of the Pope's brothers, Giovanni Battista, became mortally ill. Grieved at leaving life just as his palace was being completed, he is reported to have said in his last days: "the palace is finished and so am I."³⁴

³¹ A document of 12 January 1609 (*ibid.*) speaks of the "loggietta accanto alla lumacha ovata all'piano nobile verso il giardino delli merangoli," and another of 20 August 1608, in Ponzio's hand, refers to a "... scala a lumaca secreta dell'Appartamento dell Palazzo... verso al Giardino et contigua alla Loggietta tra detto Appartamento et la scala a lumaca principale..."

³² A record of iron work of 15 June 1615 "... per servitio della Capelletta nova fatta vicino alla scala lumaca al paro delle stantie nobile verso il Giardino, dove era prima la logetta..." shows that it was already gone at that time (AB-7927, fol. 63 a).

³³ See the discussion on p. 39 above.

³⁴ *Avviso* of 5 December 1609 (*Urb. lat.* 1077, fol. 609 v): "Il maggior negotio della Corte per la conseguenze è hoggi l'infermità del signor Giovan Battista Borghese, quale senza febre, et dai medici et da se medesimo si reputa mortale per puro termine di malenconia con dire il Palazzo è finito

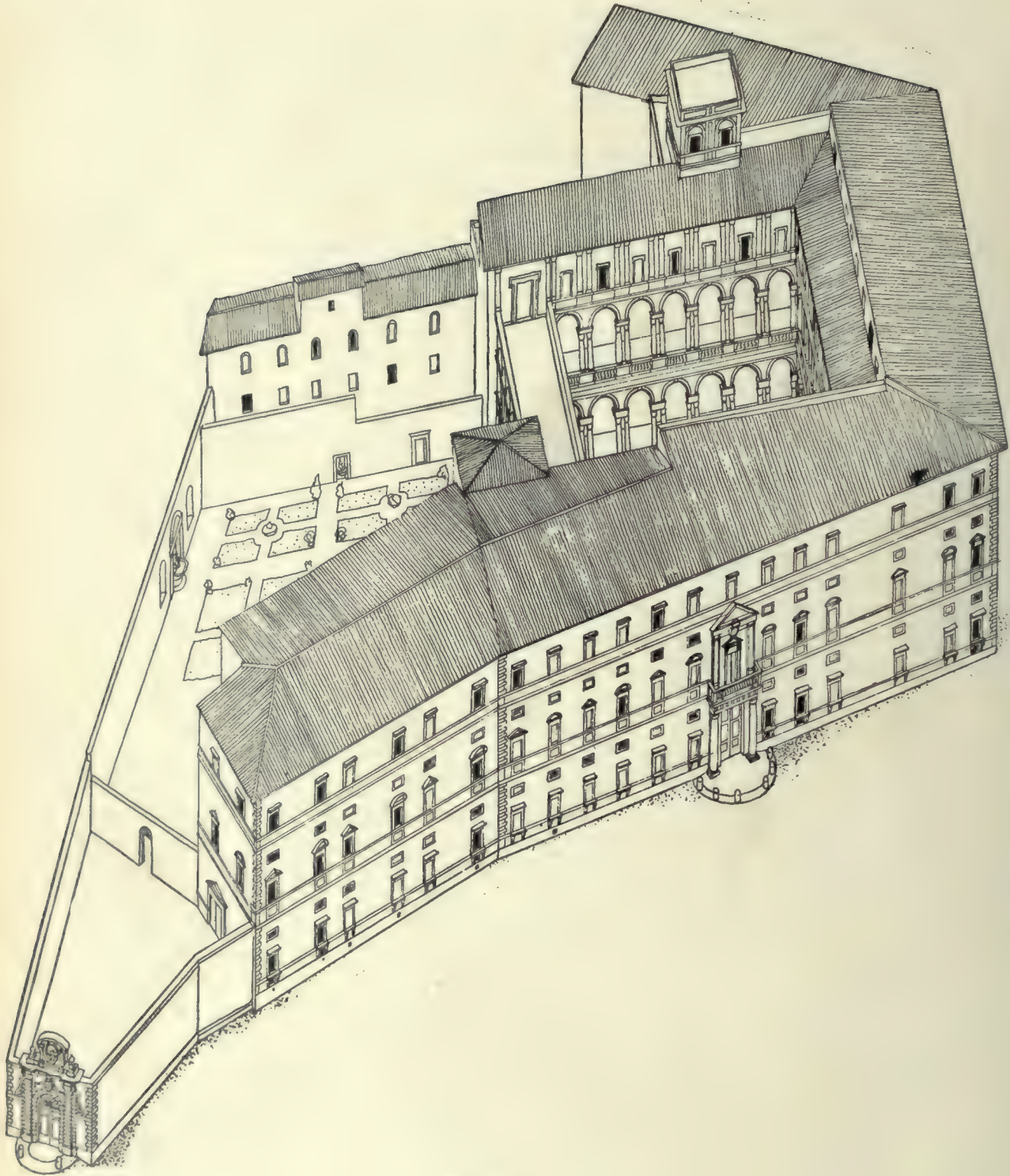


Fig. 2.

In September 1610 the finishing touches were put on the cortile (Doc. 38). The statue pedestals were stuccoed and a star shaped drain cover was put in the center; statue bases for the ground floor gallery were also set up. Only in December of that year was the portal on what is now the Piazza Borghese installed and the papal arms set in place (Fig. 57; Doc. 39).

By this time the palace as planned was finished save for a few superficial details; work had gone on steadily for five years at a cost of ∇ 55,371.49 (Doc. 53). The palace as we know it today was essentially complete with the exception of the *giardino pensile* and the last three bays of the long wing to which it attaches. Instead of this, there was built in the summer of 1608 a new garden gate that replaced the old "cancello della legna" (Doc. 25). The mason's records for this forgotten gate have been completely preserved, and from the stonecutters' document it appears that work was all but finished by May (Doc. 19, fols. 5 and 8). They show that it had a rusticated arch flanked by rusticated pilasters and a curved gable above ("... cornice del frontespizio tondo sopra..."). The portal was ornamented with the Borghese arms (Doc. 26) and with a large stucco eagle. A conjectural reconstruction of the palace with this garden gate appears in Text Fig. 2. Since the mason alone received ∇ 503.75 for this work, it must have been a rather impressive affair. It was entirely demolished to make way for the Ripetta wing of 1612-14 (Doc. 43, fol. 11 v), but it was quite similar in style to the new portal that was built (Fig. 75).

Above the rebuilt rooms of the old palace was built a belvedere that has since disappeared (Doc. 21, fol. 26). Its socle can still be seen, and it is shown in the seventeenth and eighteenth century prints (Figs. 63, 71, and 73).³⁵

The *avvisi* of the period are full of the Pope's real or imagined reactions to the palace. In October 1608 he visited the fabric and was reported dissatisfied, particularly with the way the old Palazzo Farnese-Poggio had been incorporated.³⁶ Two years later the Pope was said to have gone to the palace, admired it, and have given orders that it be finished.³⁷ A subsequent *avviso* explains

et io me ne andarò." As late as November 1608 he had been living in the Palazzo Campeggi (Giraud-Torlonia); cf. Orbaan, p. 159, and note 2.

³⁵ For a typological study of the Roman belvedere see Christian Elling, *Function and Form of the Roman Belvedere*, Copenhagen, 1950 (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab: Arkæologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser, III, no. 4).

³⁶ *Avviso* of 29 October 1608 (*Urb. lat.* 1076, fols. 784 v f.): "... ma se ne andò per la strada, ove si vede la fabrica et Palazzo delli eccellentissimi signori suoi fratelli quale anco si volse fermar à veder, sebene tuttavia dicono, che Sua Beatitudine non piaccia punto, ma non già per la grandezza, che anzi è troppa gran gabbia a simile uccello." Romano, II, p. 93, gives an *avviso* stating: "Fu Nostro Signore al palazzo delli eccellentissimi suoi fratelli et la propria sera se ne tornò a Monte Cavallo. Dicono che a Sua Beatitudine non fosse punto di soddisfazione quella fabbrica, la quale, sibbene è grandissima, bella et magnifica, in ogni modo non solo la facciata, ma ancora molte stanze vengono storte et del tutto vogliono ne sia stata la parsimonia et l'haver voluto salvare la fabbrica vecchia, et però dicono che Sua Santità habbia in animo di far qualche altra fabbrica altrove..."

³⁷ *Avviso* of 14 July 1610 (*Urb. lat.* 1078, fol. 506 f.): The Pope "... si trasferì al Palazzo delli eccellentissimi signori Borghesi... e doppo haver Sua Beatitudine remirato la fabrica nuova con li altri abbellimenti fattici fare diede alcuni ordini per farlo finire."

that the Pope desired another block to be built at the Ripetta for the use of his brother's family on occasions when Paul wished to use the main palace himself.³⁸

During this period the large Piazza Borghese was begun. Formerly the piazza before the del Giglio façade had been the only one by the palace, and was known successively as the Piazza del Giglio, then Deza, then Borghese, and is now called the Largo della Fontanella di Borghese. The space of the present large piazza was partially filled with houses and other buildings (cf. Fig. 2). Beginning in October 1609 houses south of the palace in front of the new wing were bought for the purpose of creating a new and larger private piazza.³⁹ In December 1610 work on the space was well advanced, and it had received its second levelling (Doc. 40).⁴⁰ The piazza was separated from non-Borghese property by walls built of bricks from the houses which had occupied the site (Docs. 40 and 41) and was chained off from the public streets; parts of these barriers are still in place (Fig. 64). The new piazza was distinguished from the older one by the title "Piazza Nuova Borghese," but it was commonly called the "Piazza Sterrata" because it was left unpaved.⁴¹ After the construction of the Palazzo della Famiglia Borghese in the 1620's the piazza assumed much of its present aspect (Fig. 64; Doc. 55).⁴²

II. STYLISTIC CHARACTER.

When Ponzio began work in 1605, the palace was already set in many of its stylistic characteristics. The cortile with its distinctive motive was half finished. How much of any earlier plans for the palace were known to Ponzio is

³⁸ *Avviso* of 17 July 1610 (*ibid.*, fols. 508 v f.): "Lunedì mattina Sua Santità andò al palazzo proprio. . . ordinò poi dalla banda di Monte d'oro si facciano le stanze per una bellissima libreria, che ci vuol fare, et però comprano la libreria del Cavaliere Serafino. Ordinò anco si apra quella strada che riescherà al Corso, et a dirittura della strada Ferratina, et farà bellissima vista, et ordinò anco si comprino quelle casette rincontro al palazzo et farci qualche bello edificio, acciò sia qualche cosa di buono intorno. . . (fol. 517): Sua Santità. . . magnò in cima della casa, et si gustò d'andarla rivedendo tutta, ordinò, che si li aggiunga un'altra stanza verso Ripetta, che si faccia arrivare la stalla sino alla strada di Ripetta, et che si compri il Palazzo dove habitava Simoncelli, et l'altra casa dove habita Monsignor Varella con tutta l'isola per farvi un palazzotto dove si possa ritirare Il Signor Francesco con la moglie, quando Sua Santità volesse stare qualche giorno nel Palazzo grande."

³⁹ AB-6095 ter, fol. 10, no. 4, mentions an *Instrumento pubblico* of 2 October 1609.

⁴⁰ A *Breve* of 13 March 1610, a *Patente* of 15 December, and a *Breve* of 15 March 1611 are all in AB-310. no. 175, fols. 13 ff., 22 ff., and 46 ff. *Avvisi* of 7 August 1610 (*Urb. lat.* 1078, fols. 553 and 556) state: "Si è comincio à far un altro gettito di case Incontro al Palazzo de Signori Borghesi per mettere in quadro quella Piazza. . . Si è fatta allargare la Piazza de Borghesi et levata la metà del giardino al Commendatore Santinelli, tirando detti Signori un filo di muro fatto da loro per assicurarsi che non se li possa fabricare in faccia et hanno anco compro il Palazzo dove habitano i Maffei la casa dove sta Monsignor Varella per farvi un Palazzo di tutta quella Isoletta, acciò che volendo il Gran Duca fabbricarvi non arrivi con la facciata nella lor Piazza." This reference to the plans for the Palazzo di Firenze is explained by *avvisi* published by Orbaan, pp. 168 and 172.

⁴¹ The old piazza was paved by 31 October 1617, the date of a "Misura della selciata fatta. . . nella piazza vecchia avanti il Palazzo. . . Borghese; per quanto, e tutta la facciata che guarda in detta Piazza, e seguita avanti, li palazzi che habitano Monsignore Varella, et il signore Agostino Maffei. . ." (AB-4168).

⁴² See p. 73, note 6 below.

uncertain, but it must be presumed that he was acquainted with them in part; he may even have replaced Longhi for the extension of 1592 (see Appendix II). In his expansion of the Palazzo del Giglio-Deza for the Borghese, Ponzio was guided by the individual elements of the existing palace. No attempt was made to continue the elaborate paneling and rustication of the main façade, but in other respects the older features were copied detail for detail save for the omission of dados under the second story windows. On the exterior, window frames, string-courses, and cornice followed the model; only the Borghese heraldry on the architrave and cornice reveals the later building period.

Responsibility for the uneven distribution of the windows between the new portal and the old façade must be divided (Fig. 64). Longhi's previous construction must have led Ponzio to complete the façade as he did, and Longhi was probably capable of such inequality.⁴³ But the irregularity could have been minimized or avoided from the beginning had the Borghese desired, since construction began at the third bay.

From the first, certain basic changes were made in the court design. We have seen that the upper loggia was given the Corinthian order, and a false balustrade was painted on the socle. The form of the Ionic capitals was subtly changed, an indication of Ponzio's tendency toward clarity and subordination of architectural components (Fig. 30). Implicit in the earliest Borghese construction was the lengthening of the cortile to seven bays. This is proved by the early work on the cortile itself and by the building on the south flank, where a new portal giving access to the cortile at the fourth (i.e., center) bay was included in the earliest building activity. The ultimate length of the south façade was dictated by the old Palazzo Farnese-Poggio-del Giglio. The documents for the construction spell out a series of building campaigns, each successive one adding to, but also changing, the one before. No clearer illustration could be given to Ackerman's analysis of Renaissance building technique.⁴⁴ Even in this first period of planning there must have been the certainty that, granting the health of the new Pope, the palace would be expanded, but there is no reason to suppose that the direction of this expansion had been finally determined. The documents of 1605-06 give no clue to plans for the fourth side of the cortile.

Only in 1607, when the first building campaign was well advanced, was the key decision necessarily made; instead of building a block palace like the Farnese, the building was extended toward the Ripetta, incorporating the old Farnese-Poggio palace. The chief factor may have been economy (see note 36 above), but the desire for a long picture gallery could have contributed to the decision. The palace at this time began to assume its awkward, sprawling shape, and the distance to be traversed between the Deza wing on the east and the new palace became immense. The extension toward the Ripetta created a problem of com-

⁴³ Longhi is apparently not responsible for this feature of the Vatican palace of Sixtus V, however: see p. 86, note 17.

⁴⁴ "Architectural Practice. . .," *JSAH*, XIII, 3, 1954, p. 9.

munication, and this problem was rendered acute on the second floor by the *salone*, which occupied the entire height of the palace above the first floor without space before or behind for passage from one side to the other except on the top floor mezzanine (cf. Figs. 49 and 51). These problems met with due solutions; in fact the charm of the solutions proposed must have been an incentive for the extension of the palace in the direction which was finally chosen.

The problem of communication and the completion of the cortile were solved by the erection of a loggia bridging the old and new wings (Fig. 55). This bridge loggia on the first floor intersects with the great *salone* (Fig. 48), and the decision to erect the *salone* at that point was taken in concurrence with the decision to build a large spiral stair connecting the wing beyond with the court loggia and its connecting sections of the palace. Thus the oval stair serves the two functions of stair and passage with optimum efficiency. The position of the stair was determined by the length of projection of the *salone* beyond the bridge loggia, and this length probably suggested the oval form, which was no novelty at this time. Apart from convenience, the intersection of loggia and *salone* afforded scenic possibilities for the Borghese and their guests, who could stroll from the grand room out onto the loggia to enjoy the view into the garden and the splashing of the fountains below, a pleasure now available to the members of Rome's Circolo della Caccia.

Ponzio's decision to lengthen the cortile probably derived from the desire to increase the available space, but it had the esthetic effect of creating a strengthened longitudinal axis (Fig. 58).⁴⁵ This axis was emphasized by the bridge loggia, which was originally closed below except for its central door, and by the view through this door into the garden beyond where one's eye fell, ultimately, on the grotto fountain in the far end of the garden. The visitor entered through the old portal and corridor leading into the court, where suddenly a greatly expanded but carefully controlled space allowed his eye to wander. But the directional tendency of this space forced the eye to the opposite end where the cortile's arcade stood out against the sky above; even there the center bay is emphasized by two pairs of rose granite columns. Below, the arcade was shut, leading the visitor to look through another small opening, behind which lay a fixed perspective point on the entrance axis. Actually penetrating this barrier, the visitor once more found himself in a greatly expanded space, but this time a space which was asymmetrical, and which assumed its own unique proportions without regard to the cortile behind. Ponzio's bridge arcade closed off the court from the garden, but at the same time it opened the rooms facing onto the arcade to light and to vistas which a closed block would have prohibited.

The bridge loggia has important antecedents in Rome. Most recent of these was the Palazzo Mattei di Giove, begun by Maderno in 1598 although finished

⁴⁵ Cf. the inadequate study by Henny Weber, *Achsalität und Symmetrie im Grundriss des italienischen Profanbaus von der Frührenaissance bis zum Frühbarock*, Berlin (dissertation), 1937.

only in 1611 (Fig. 53).⁴⁶ Maderno's court, on a smaller scale, shows the same desire to channel perspective by closing the flanking arches with doors, but nothing like the scenography of the Borghese loggia is achieved by the one story wall with its pilaster articulation.

A perspective view through the cortile and beyond was not a new idea. It appeared in Michelangelo's project for the Palazzo Farnese (Fig. 54), where the view was obtained through what appeared to be the block of the palace itself.⁴⁷ Succeeding Roman architects were influenced by this peep-hole perspective to such an extent that even when the fourth side of the palace was missing, the effect was artificially created. Michelangelo's powerful conflicts between perspective view below, open loggia above, and closed block on top was abandoned, for such conscious inversion of the normal order was too crushing a conceit for the seventeenth century. What remained was the forcefully directed perspective view, and at the Palazzo Borghese this was supplemented by the airiness of the open loggia above. This logical and happy progression from the closed lower story was a clear step toward the consonance of the Baroque style.

Another variation on the theme of the Palazzo Farnese is the presence of large antique statues beneath the arches of the bridge loggia. Michelangelo's motives in opening the fourth side of the Farnese palace have been convincingly linked with the sculpture which was to have been framed by the arches.⁴⁸ There is no doubt that this great precedent was the direct cause of the purchase of the three colossi by the Borghese in 1608 (Doc. 54).

It would be a mistake to confine our discussion of the bridge loggia to Roman antecedents however, for the most impressive examples occur in north Italy. A similar connecting bridge is found in the Palazzo Dati of Cremona, where the motive of paired columns is also found.⁴⁹ Such northern examples

⁴⁶ Caffisch, pp. 83-85. This element in the Palazzo Mattei is apparently derived from the similar cortile in the Mattei-Caetani palace, which backs onto it. Like the Mattei di Giove, the Mattei-Caetani bridge loggia was originally only one story high.

⁴⁷ Herbert Siebenhüner, "Der Palazzo Farnese in Rom," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1952, pp. 155 ff., tries to show that the Michelangelo project recorded in the Lafréry engraving (Fig. 54) shows a vista only through something like the depth of the court arcade; see Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, London, 1961, I, pp. 86 ff., and II, pp. 77 ff.

⁴⁸ Particularly interesting is the indication that the open central arch was to have framed a fountain in the "second cortile" composed of the sculptured group known as the *Farnese Bull* (Vasari-Milanesi, VII, p. 224). A similar perspective was doubtless planned from the beginning at the Palazzo Borghese, the open central door serving as a frame for a fountain in the garden. But, contrary to Siebenhüner's conclusion (p. 164), the chief difference between Michelangelo's unexecuted design and the Palazzo Borghese court is the imported architectural motive used in the later palace. Like the Farnese, the Borghese court was originally closed below; the open arches which change the entire meaning of the space date from the mid-nineteenth century (cf. Fig. 61).

⁴⁹ The palace was supposedly built in 1561 for Gian Carlo Affaitati; the architect was Giuseppe Dattaro or, according to other reports, Picenardi. But the court may be eighteenth century, like the stair. See the illustrations in Venturi, XI, 3, Figs. 506 and 507, and Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy: 1600-1750*, Baltimore, 1958, p. 256 and Fig. 28.

If the court of this palace is in fact of the sixteenth century, it would increase the probability that Longhi might have had the intention of joining the wings of the Palazzo Deza with a similar

do not have the squeezed perspective pin-point found in Roman palaces, and this is characteristic of northern *cortili* in general. The openness of the fourth side complements the freedom of the motive itself, which, as we have seen, is northern in origin. Ponzio's bridge for the Palazzo Borghese court combines the expansiveness of the northern tradition with the stringent compulsion of the Roman sixteenth century. The progressively ascending perspective views through Genoese courtyards are only partially analogous, but it was there that the theatrical qualities implicit in the paired column arcade were fully realized. The Borghese cortile with its two portals affords directional forces other than the major axis from portal to garden. A lesser transverse axis leads from the later portal across the short width of the court, where the eye falls on the colossal statue set up before the niche in the opposite wall. Perhaps this niche represents an earlier focal point, now all but hidden by the statue under the arch.

Beyond the cortile lay an enclosed garden, and although the first garden of the Palazzo Borghese has been completely changed, in shape it still resembles the garden shown in the 1618 Greuter engraving (Fig. 63). There the garden is shown on a lower level than the cortile, as now, with a wall fountain opposite del Giglio's entrance portal as the final point in the perspective view. From the Greuter engraving it is possible to make out a series of niches to left and right of the wall fountain opposite the loggia, and this wall was perhaps faced with the same motive as is found on the garden side of the loggia. The garden side of the bridge loggia is faced with a different architectural motive from that of the cortile (Fig. 60). Thus the loggia serves four distinct though related functions in the design of the interior palace complex: as termination of the court, as communication between wings of the palace, as transition between court and garden, and as garden wall.

Ponzio built a portal in 1610 for the new façade facing the large piazza; it was freely modeled on the one built for del Giglio and has the papal arms above but no iconographic features on the metopes (Figs. 14 and 57). Ponzio's portal breaks away from the wall plane in two stages; in this it is similar to the window frames designed by della Porta after ca. 1580. That is the only significant difference from the earlier portal and reflects the change of taste found in della Porta's later palaces and in Ponzio's own house of 1600 (Fig. 76).

Entering from the *piazza sterrata* (the present Piazza Borghese), the visitor found at his left the ornamented portal leading to the spiral stair (Figs. 62 and 56). This spiral stair is only one of a series that begins with Bramante's in the Vatican Belvedere.⁵⁰ Bramante's was circular, supported by single columns. The next step was taken by Vignola at Caprarola, where the supporting columns

bridge. An analogous example without paired columns is found in the Palazzo della Torre in Verona (Venturi XI, 3, Fig. 495; still another one, in Genoa, is in *ibid.*, Fig. 633).

⁵⁰ See Ackerman, pp. 38-39. Such was the fame of this stair that all similar ones were attributed to him. Rome guides such as Fioravante Martinelli, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito*, Rome, 1644, p. 102, already attributed the Borghese stair to Bramante; Charles de Brosse speaks of the "escalier tournant par le Bramante, médiocre." (*Lettres familières sur l'Italie*, II, ed. Y. Bezand, 1931, p. 395).

were paired. The distinction of the Borghese stair is the fact that it is oval. For this, too, there is a notable Roman antecedent: Mascarino's stair of 1583 in the Palazzo Quirinale.⁵¹ Although this is the only monumental example antecedent to the Borghese, Mascarino often used the motive in projects.⁵² His executed stair in the Quirinal is larger, but in other ways comparable to the Borghese stair, so that Ponzio's chief problem was the adjustment of the flights to the various floors by means of landings and steps.

The visitor to the Palazzo Borghese had still another choice in addition to entering the cortile or climbing the stairs. Most probably he came in from the *piazza sterrata* and, before reaching the loggia, entered a door at his left that opened into a gallery of six rooms.⁵³ The first three of these rooms were irregular in shape, while the following three were rectangular but at an angle to the first three.⁵⁴ These were connected by an enfilade of doors starting parallel to the façade, and leading obliquely through the final three rooms, where the perspective was perhaps completed by a window or arched opening in the first Ripetta façade. The continuation of the enfilade beyond the angle of the façade provides one of the unique features of the palace. The perspective possibilities of this enfilade were realized only by Carlo Rainaldi (see p. 75), and it must be admitted that Ponzio's enfilade was almost forced on him. This enfilade traversed the famous Borghese gallery which eventually housed one of the richest collections of antiquities and modern works of art ever assembled by one family.⁵⁵

⁵¹ See Golzio, pp. 168 ff. (with illustrations). It should go without saying that Ponzio had nothing to do with the Quirinal palace in this period (i.e., 1583-85; see p. 87 below).

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 166 f., and Raffaele Ojetti, "Ottaviano Mascarino," *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia di S. Luca*, II, 1912, pp. 65 ff. Mascarino used identical plans for an oval stair, for a church, and for a kind of stock exchange (drawings in the Accademia di S. Luca; one of these is reproduced by Zocca, "Due progetti di logge per mercanti in Roma nel cinquecento," *Roma*, XX, 1942, pp. 121-24, and Tav. XXII; another is in Lotz, "Die ovalen Kirchenräume des Cinquecento," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, VII, 1955, Abb. 45). Given this rigid and unimaginative use of a single plan, one wonders whether it was not an inheritance from another architect, namely, Vignola. Mascarino was not notably original; he was perhaps the most conspicuous follower of Vignola in Rome (see above, p. 33, note 44). On the other hand, Vignola had a distinct preference for spiral stairs. His great example is in Caprarola, which marks the first real advance after Bramante's. Vignola designed other spiral stairs as well; whenever he could use one he did. But the key fact in this argument is that Vignola was the great protagonist in the development of the oval plan (see Lotz, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-54). Since an oval spiral stair was eventually built in a palace originally designed by him (the Borghese), it is even possible that it was planned by Vignola. Although the connection between Ponzio's stair and Vignola seems fanciful, it would be much more logical to see Vignola behind the impressive stair in the Quirinal than the less imaginative Mascarino. Considering Vignola's love for spiral stairs, his epoch-making development of the oval plan, and his overwhelming influence on Mascarino, it would be justifiable to point to Vignola as the mind behind the open oval stair.

In any event, it should be pointed out that oval service stairs are already shown in Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, Venice, 1570, Book I, p. 63, and *passim*. Mascarino followed Vignola's Caprarola stair, however, rather than the utilitarian type of spiral stair illustrated by Palladio. A different type of oval stair, without columns, is found in an anonymous drawing of the sixteenth century in the Uffizi, no. 2665 A.

⁵³ For the extent of the first enfilade, see Doc. 57.

⁵⁴ Owing to the incorporation of the old Farnese-Poggio palace at this point.

⁵⁵ On the art collection in the Palazzo Borghese see Aldo de Rinaldis, "Documenti inediti per la storia della R. Galleria Borghese in Roma - II: Una inedita nota settecentesca delle opere

Of the rooms built by the Borghese in this period several remain in almost original condition. One of these is the room on the first floor beyond the portal, preceding the *salone* (Figs. 48 and 82). This still has its richly carved and gilt wooden ceiling and its painted frieze below, apparently by Fra' Cosimo Piazza.⁵⁶ The *salone* also preserves its impressive ceiling (Fig. 65), but the original decoration of the walls by Piazza has disappeared (Fig. 66).⁵⁷ The presence of a *salone* two stories high is perhaps another instance of the influence of the Palazzo Farnese, where the idea was Michelangelo's. Owing to the walling in and glazing of the loggia, the great doors that led to the interior are now meaningless; some of them are now walled up (Fig. 83).

Outside of the palace proper was the 1608 garden gate at the Ripetta, destroyed by the extension of 1612-14. So far as it can be reconstructed from the documents (Text Fig. 2; Docs. 19, 25), this gate seems to have resembled the present Ripetta portal in its lower members (Fig. 75), while the upper ornaments can best be imagined by a review of Ponzio's other portals where similar features can be found. The first of these is the door on the Clivo di Scauro leading to the chapels beside S. Gregorio Magno, of 1607-08.⁵⁸ The second is the entrance *portone* to the Villa Borghese of 1609 (Fig. 69); the third is the portal to Scipione's garden on the Quirinal of 1611-12 (Fig. 70); and the last is the lower gate to the Quirinal Palace, built 1612-13.⁵⁹ These gates form an unparalleled series of related examples, and there were once still others now destroyed. Discounting the S. Gregorio door, all are arched portals with volutes at the side and with decorative headpieces flanked by finials. The two closest in date to the Borghese gate employ rustication either on the arch or on the flanking pilasters. The Borghese portal used both, as does its replacement.

pittoriche nel Palazzo Borghese in Campo Marzio," and "III: Un catalogo della quadreria Borghese nel Palazzo a Campo Marzio, redatto nel 1760," *Archivi d'Italia*, III, 1936, pp. 194-206, and IV, 1937, pp. 218-32. In addition to the admirable catalogues of the paintings and sculptures now in the Borghese gallery, published by Paola della Pergola and Italo Faldi, della Pergola will also publish a series of important inventories of the palace collections. These, and the catalogues based on the documents in the Archivio Borghese, give extremely rich source material for the works in the collection. Much of the ancient sculpture from the collection is, however, now in the Louvre.

⁵⁶ Fra' Cosimo (Paolo Piazza) painted in the palace with his assistants during 1614-15 (AB-7927 *bis*). An *avviso* of 16 July 1614 is in Orbaan, p. 218; cf. Baglione, p. 161. Both sources mention an oil-fresco technique which is not found in the surviving works; perhaps the lost *salone* decorations were done in this medium (the discrepancy between the works and the descriptions was pointed out to me by Dr. Hess). Piazza's works are discussed by Davide da Portogruaro, *Paolo Piazza ossia P. Cosimo da Castel Franco*, Venice, 1936.

⁵⁷ Still another room has a frieze which may be by Piazza: that on the *piano nobile* lighted by the third and fourth windows of the main façade.

Other friezes and overdoors were painted in 1615-18 by Giovan Francesco Guerrieri. Documents from AB-7928 are presented in an article on the paintings by Paola della Pergola, "Giovan Francesco Guerrieri à Roma," *Bollettino d'arte*, XLI, 1956, pp. 214-237; see also the *avviso* of 1 August 1618 in Orbaan, p. 255. The wooden ceilings of these rooms were painted and gilt in 1614 by Annibale and Rinaldo Coradino (AB-7926 *bis* and 7927).

⁵⁸ The dates of these works are documented on pp. 100 ff. below.

⁵⁹ This will be discussed and illustrated in my forthcoming article on Scipione's Quirinal garden.

CHAPTER 5

THE PALAZZO BORGHESE: 1612-1621

I. HISTORY OF CONSTRUCTION.

Minor repairs and adjustments went on throughout the palace during 1611, but in 1612 the decision was made once again to enlarge the palace toward the Ripetta (Figs. 63, 67 and 68). As with the rest of the palace, the motivation doubtless came from the Pope, and we have seen that he had already desired some kind of expansion in the summer of 1610 (cf. p. 53, notes 36 and 37). A masons' contract for the new construction was drawn up in October 1612 (Doc. 42). Interesting excerpts have been published by Caffisch.¹ The *scarpellino* contract is dated 30 October 1612, and this was presumably also the date of the masons' document.² On the same day the masons received a first installment of ∇ 500 "... a bonconto della fabrica, che... devono fare per Aggiunta del Palazzo... verso Ripetta..."³ The foundations were begun on 8 November of the same year, and their first measurement took place on 13 January 1613 (Doc. 43). On the same date was measured the first installment of cut stone (Doc. 44), followed by further measurements in February (Docs. 45 and 46). Taken all together, these documents account for the great bulk of the work. They prove that the hanging garden and the two story loggia overlooking the Tiber were designed and the foundations begun before 1613, and that a great deal was executed by March of that year. In January most of the stone for the ground floor of the construction was measured, beginning with the three new bays between the old wing and the new *giardino pensile* (Doc. 44; cf. Text Fig. 1). In February the remainder was measured with the exception of the rustic portal façade (Docs. 45 and 46). In addition, Doc. 46 records seven large windows for the long façade, the socle under the pilasters of the loggia on the *piano nobile*, the pilaster bases, pilasters, and capitals. The rough stone for the three lower arches with their keystones and spandrels was also cut. The dragon frieze with its seven triglyphs above the lower arcade was measured. For the upper loggia the arches were cut with their spandrels, as well as much more for inside and out. After this *misura* of 20 February there was a pause; the next one is dated 15 October and concerns the *pelle* or smoothed stone for the loggia and elsewhere, including much of

¹ Caffisch, p. 73. A *motu proprio* of 27 November 1612 authorized the new construction, according to the old index of documents preserved in AB-310, no. 200.

² AB-37, no. 610: "Capitoli, et patti da osservarsi dalli sottoscritti Capimastri Scarpellini...". Signed only by the master *scarpellino* Stefano Longhi. (See pp. 106 f. below for some of the stipulations.) The contract for iron work is dated November 1612 (*ibid.*).

³ AB-7926, fol. 42 b. On 4 November Longhi received a first payment of ∇ 200 for stonework, and high payments to both sets of workers continue after these dates.

the balustrade (Doc. 47). Since the *scarpello* documents from 13 January to 15 October are consecutive, the entire group was signed only on the latter date, by Antonio de Battisti and Gasparo Vecchi.⁴ The masons' documents are less valuable, as they have only the date of 13 January without other indication of when the work was executed; they too were signed by Battisti and Vecchi. A second masons' measurement of 1613 or early 1614 seems to be lost, for the next one preserved, of 3 April 1614, is called the third (Doc. 48). Only on the 14th of that month was the stone for the impressive Ripetta portal measured (Fig. 75; Doc. 49), the 1608 garden portal having been destroyed (Doc. 43, fol. 11 v). The new wing was habitable by July 1614, and two final masons' documents of July and October record its completion down to the pebbles for the hanging garden (Docs. 50 and 51).⁵

The entire Ripetta addition took almost two years and cost more than all the other work of the previous seven (Docs. 54 and 55). All told, according to one source, the palace cost the Borghese ∇ 188,107.33, including some works built for Cardinal Scipione.⁶ Another computation lists the building expenses for the years 1611-12 alone as ∇ 127,530 (Doc. 55). It would be safe to say that by the death of Paul V in 1621, the palace, including its purchase, had cost over ∇ 275,000, or something like a million dollars.⁷ An undated patent for the palace summarizes its history under the Borghese (Doc. 53). Little more of importance had been added to the palace proper when the first noteworthy description of the building was published in 1625:

Il Palazzo della nobilissima famiglia Borghese è posto di sito nel Rione in Campo Marzo, d'architettura eccellente al paro di qualsivoglia altro, che sia in Roma. La grandezza sua è maravigliosa, che più facilmente si potria giudicare un Castello, che Palazzo. Le facciate di questo nobile edificio sono quattro, tre delle quali hanno d'avanti tre bellissime piazze. Ma la principale è bella, grande, e magnifica al possibile, intitolata dal Cognome de' suoi Signori, Piazza Borghese. L'edifitio hà sette ordini di finestre, tre grandi, e quattro picciole tutte de marmo, lavorate con grande artificio. Nella piazza detta vi è la porta principale di bellezza, e magnificenza Reale, con una Loggia sopra di essa bellissima, l'una, e l'altra fabbricate tutte di marmo

⁴ We know from another source, however, that even the first measurement of 13 January 1613 was made by Battisti and Vecchi (AB-7927 bis, fol. 24). Battisti had already appeared as Ponzio's substitute at the Acqua Paola at different times between 1608 and 1614 (see p. 101 note 46 below), at S. Sebastiano in 1613 (AB-4174), and elsewhere. After Ponzio's death he served the new papal architect Giovanni Van Zanten (see p. 70, note 33) in the same manner. Vecchi appeared as Ponzio's assistant in a contract for buildings for Scipione near Rignano on 13 May 1613: "... il disegno fatto dal . . . signor Flaminio Pontio, et revisto de ordine suo di M. Gaspare de Vecchi. . ." (AB-310, no. 174, fol. 53 v). Nevertheless, this does not point securely to Ponzio as architect, for these men were merely the papal *misuratori*, and worked for any papal architect. Both Battisti and Vecchi were assistants to Maderno at S. Andrea della Valle in 1610 and 1612 (ASR, *Corporazioni religiose*, 2161, no. 159 (58), fols. 87 v, and 88 v).

⁵ In conjunction with the Ripetta addition the Pope seems to have rebuilt the harbor of the Ripetta, which is reported in an *avviso* of 19 July 1614 (Orbaan, p. 223; for the later rebuilding, cf. p. 76, note 15).

⁶ For these, see below, pp. 72 ff.

⁷ Cf. Leone Vicchi, *Villa Borghese*, Rome, 1885, p. 122.

egregiamente. Seguita poi l'altra facciata con la sua porta dell'istessa materia, e di equivalente architettura. L'altra porta verso Ripetta è superbissima ornata non solo di bellissimi marmi; ma con grand'industria fa di se ricca mostra, ricevendo non solo la grandezza dall'arte, ma anco dalla natura, perche signoreggia gran parte del Tevere, & anco gran parte di Roma, & anco de paesi forastieri. Sopra di essa vi à una balaustrata di marmo con un piano spatioso, & à capo di quel spatio due loggie una sopra l'altra, con suoi giardini, fontane, archi, e colonne di maravigliosa bellezza. Dalla parte di dentro di questa superba machina vi è un cortile, & attorno di esso un bellissimo portico, che lo circonda da tutte le parti, sostenuto da cento colonne di pietra mischia, che congiunte à doi à doi reggono l'archi con artificio maraviglioso. Sopra detto portico ve n'è un'altro lavorato dall'istessa maniera. Et sopra il secondo vi è anco il terzo, che uniti insieme rendono una grandezza Reale. Vi sono poi da vinti statue poste in diversi luoghi per il cortile, che oltre il valore grande, rendono à fatto detto luogo nobile, e maraviglioso. Dentro poi vi sono stanze con ornamenti Imperiali di statue, quadri delli più rari, che siano à nostri tempi, con una galleria famosissima, & anco fontane, e giardino, e mille altre delitie, che per brevità tralascio, giovi il credere, che non sia inferiore a quelli edifitij Imperiali antichi, che furno in questo nobil Campo Marzo, & essendosi spente quelle belle maraviglie per la lunghezza del tempo, hoggi si vedono r avvivate in memoria di questa nobil famiglia.⁸

II. STYLE AND ATTRIBUTION.

The Ripetta wing (Fig. 67) is perhaps the most original and interesting of the additions made to the palace and is the only one of vexed attribution. Taken for itself, the new end starts with the last three bays of the long wing, which was terminated by rusticated quoins that support sharply broken entablature segments (Fig. 72). The upper two floors of the façade are opened toward the Tiber by loggias of three arches faced with the common pilaster version of the Tabularium motive. The lower loggia opens out onto an elevated terrace of trapezoidal form, planted with decorative flowers and shrubs and enclosed by a balustrade ornamented with the Borghese eagles and dragons (Fig. 67). This bastion, projecting toward the water like the stern of a ship, was given a rusticated façade that is now masked by a later addition. Because of this change, we are fortunate in being able to reproduce a reconstruction drawing of 1912 showing the portal as it originally appeared (Fig. 75).⁹ Unlike the rest of the palace, the impression here is of a building made of stone. The rusticated portions—quoins and portal façade—give the wing its individuality, and these freer elements are matched by the candid placement of the open loggias on the exterior and by certain details of the loggia itself: the sculptured frieze with its widely spaced triglyphs, and the elaborate keystones below. All of these features mark an

⁸ The anonymous *Grandezze della città di Roma...*, Rome, 1628 edition, p. 146.

⁹ The level of the pavement was originally lower, as can be seen in Figs. 63 and 68, which were the basis for the reconstruction of those parts destroyed by Rainaldi's loggia. The architect for the proposed restoration of the Ripetta portal was Cesare Bazzani; the drawing is signed by his father, Luigi Bazzani, and dated 1912. This, and related documents, are in AB-8619.

importation of what can be called the "villa style" into the city, a tendency that in the course of the seventeenth century transformed urban architecture and enlivened the Renaissance style.

Although we are entitled to speak of the beginnings of the Baroque in connection with the Borghese Ripetta wing, the architectural elements employed are firmly anchored in the sixteenth century. So, too, is the general scheme; for a three bay loggia overlooking a garden to the rear was precisely the formula used by della Porta in his completion of the Palazzo Farnese, although the result was far different owing to the character of the palace. Even though this is an antecedent for the Borghese loggia, the differences are more significant than the similarities. Unlike della Porta's arcade, the Borghese loggia opens directly onto an elevated garden that projects into a commercial center.¹⁰ The conception is strikingly original and contrasts vividly with the rest of the exterior. The whole palace is opened up at the end—turned inside out, as it were—and elements normally reserved for enclosed *cortili* and gardens come spilling out of the palace down toward the river port. This extension of the interior space outside, the intermingling of indoors and outdoors, is here carried very far. Of all the features of the palace, this is the one which forms the greatest step toward the Baroque. Although open loggias were common in the Renaissance (e.g., the Farnesina), they were at first associated with villas. Della Porta's Palazzo Farnese loggia was one of many attempts at breaking the Roman palace block and freeing the city palace of its formal restraint.

The Borghese Ripetta loggia goes much further since it provides a piece of nature—the hanging garden—within the borders of the palace itself. Palace space and outer space are combined at this point: in the hanging garden a person is outdoors but still irrevocably within the palace. The open loggia provided a subtle transition from "outside" to "inside," and there was no single point between garden and palace proper which signalled the complete change from outer to inner space. Perhaps the extension of the palace toward the river and the creation of a hanging garden again reflects the influence of the Palazzo Farnese. By ca. 1600 the latter had its own extension toward the Tiber with a bridge over the Via Giulia. This extension, not part of the palace proper, incorporated a *giardino pensile*.¹¹

It cannot now be determined who may first have proposed such a terminal feature for the Borghese palace: Pope, Cardinal, or architect. The idea may have evolved slowly between 1610 and 1612, with suggestions coming from

¹⁰ To keep privacy the Borghese forced their neighbor across the Via dell'Arancio to wall up the windows that overlooked the Ripetta extension (AB-307, no. 60: 6 February 1615). Later they bought the house (see p. 75 below).

Northern Italian hanging gardens such as the ones flanking Rocco Lurago's Palazzo Doria-Tursi in Genoa (Venturi, XI, 3, Fig. 628) would seem to be only distant prototypes for the Borghese garden.

¹¹ The construction up to the Via Giulia is already visible on the 1593 Tempesta map, but the bridge over the street had not been constructed at that time. It was built shortly before 1600, together with the casino on the other side of the street (Ackerman, *Michelangelo*, II, p. 82).

various sources. Our first document for the new wing is the drawing in the Albertina. (Fig. 77-79).¹² It must pre-date the beginning of work in October 1612 since it shows a somewhat different plan for the hanging garden from that which was executed. The shape is simpler and it lacks the arched loggia that was actually built. Instead, three doors open onto the garden from different rooms. That at the left was to have been the main access from the long wing; the center door led to a chapel; the third opened into a long gallery. This corridor, never built, was to join the Ripetta wing with the other side of the old palace. Thus the entire site was to have been closed in by the new addition; between the gallery and the old block was space for what amounted to another complete palace, with its own great *salone*, chapel, and living quarters. Within, it seems that the garden was to have a columnar niche fountain on the axis of the del Giglio portal. Radiating paths lead from it to other vantage points, while two free-standing fountains lie between the court and the niche fountain.

This grandiose plan was possibly a source for the ultimate project, which was a refinement of the Ripetta addition in the drawing without the gallery or new apartment toward the Piazza di Monte d'Oro. These may not at first have been abandoned, however, since the tennis court and *salone* above, at the end of the addition toward the Via dell'Arancio, form what could easily have been converted to the beginning of a gallery wing.

The Albertina drawing is by the hand of Girolamo Rainaldi,¹³ who had a kind of handyman's role in the Borghese artistic program. An architect of some distinction himself, Rainaldi was especially active as a decorator in these years, having designed the bronze altar of the Cappella Paolina for S. M. Maggiore among many other works. Rainaldi and Maderno worked together at Bassano di Sutri in 1609;¹⁴ as at Scipione Borghese's Quirinal garden a few years later, Maderno seems to have headed a cooperative enterprise, with ideas and suggestions coming from several quarters.

Neither the surviving drawing nor the building documents can solve the problem of authorship, which resolves upon questions of style. The Ripetta portal façade has always been attributed to Ponzio (Fig. 75), and Caffisch refrained from giving it to Maderno when she dealt with the problem.¹⁵ Indeed, apart from the traditional attribution, one could hardly fail to be convinced by the resemblance between this façade and Ponzio's other works. Chief among these is the portal for his own palace, which exhibits a rusticated arch surmounted by a balcony

¹² See p. 17, note 57, above.

¹³ This was suggested by Dr. Heinrich Thelen on the basis of the handwriting, and confirmed by Professor Augusto Campana on comparison with unquestionable examples of Rainaldi's writing. I am grateful to these two scholars for solving the problem of attribution.

¹⁴ Paolo Portoghesi, "Il palazzo . . . a Bassano," *Bollettino d'arte*, XLII, 1957, p. 234 and *passim*. Portoghesi does not draw the conclusion that Maderno was architect of this enterprise, assisted by others (including Rainaldi and Lambardi), but this was surely the case. (For Rainaldi, see the unusually complete biography by Brauer in Thieme-Becker, and Furio Fasolo, *L'opera di Hieronimo e Carlo Rainaldi*, Rome, 1961).

¹⁵ For Baglione's attribution, see note 17 below.

on similar brackets (Fig. 76). These brackets are ornamented with grotesque faces or masks in both instances. Further support for Ponzio's authorship comes from the documents for his garden gate formerly on the site; there a rusticated arch flanked by rusticated pilasters is clearly described (Docs. 19 and 25; cf. p. 53). More evidence comes from Ponzio's other portals, especially the large one for the Villa Borghese (Fig. 69).¹⁶ No similar series of related monuments can be cited for Maderno or another contemporary architect. Baglione, in his life of Ponzio, says that Ponzio built the wing toward the Ripetta with its portal, and that this wing was joined onto the older palace by the spiral stair.¹⁷ Baglione thought the entire court block of the palace was Longhi's, and that Ponzio's wing started with the spiral stair. This means that the *portone* that Baglione attributed to Ponzio was the Ripetta portal.

The attribution of the Ripetta portal façade to Ponzio is of importance, since we have seen that contrary to what might be supposed this was the last element of the wing to be completed: the stone for the façade was measured over a year after the architect's death (Doc. 49). This would have been enough to secure the attribution of the whole addition to Ponzio were it not that Baglione clearly asserts that Maderno gave final completion to the Palazzo Borghese.¹⁸ Following Baglione, Caffisch attributed the arched loggia to Maderno. This she partially supported on the evidence of the perspective arches in the lower story (Fig. 72), citing his earlier use of the motive in the stair archway of the Palazzo Mattei.¹⁹

Examination of the false-perspective inserts in the loggia arches and those within the loggia itself, however, clearly proves them to have been later additions (Figs. 72 and 80). This explains the mysterious silence in the documents of 1612-14. The seventeenth century prints from Greuter to Falda to Specchi show no evidence of the false-perspective arches (Figs. 63, 68, 71, and 73) although the same engravers had no trouble illustrating similar features elsewhere.²⁰ Only the mid-eighteenth century Vasi print shows the lower loggia enclosed as it is

¹⁶ Completed in 1609 (AB-4174, 5 November); cf. pp. 101 f. below. Ponzio had already used a projecting balcony with sculptured brackets in the Cappella Paolina of S.M. Maggiore (Venturi, XI, 2, Fig. 817). It must be mentioned, however, that a number of these features are also found in the portal of the Villa Taverna-Borghese in Frascati, which was presumably built by Girolamo Rainaldi in 1604-05 (illustrated in C. Franck, *Die Barockvillen in Frascati*, Munich/Berlin, 1956, Fig. 67; the attribution to Rainaldi is from Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori* . . . , IV, Florence, 1728, p. 487).

¹⁷ Baglione, p. 135: "Con suo disegno fu anche fatta la giunta del palagio de' Signori Borghesi, che guarda verso Ripetta con bel portone, e ringhiera; e questa parte all'altra è unita con vaga scala a lumaca, e nobilissimi appartamenti esquisitamente adorni e degni di Pontefice." Falda (our Fig. 52) followed Baglione in attributing the palace to Longhi with "la loggia corrispondente à Ripetta architettura di Flaminio Pontio."

¹⁸ Baglione, p. 308: "Diede l'ultimo compimento al gran Palazzo . . . Borghesi a Ripetta." The "a Ripetta" in this instance perhaps serves only to distinguish the palace from the other Borghese palaces—"in Borgo," "al Quirinale," etc., even though it may well describe the section of the palace that Baglione had in mind.

¹⁹ Caffisch, p. 73.

²⁰ E.g., Ferrerio, Pl. 7; Specchi, *Il nuovo teatro* . . . , IV, Rome, 1699, Pls. 17-19 and 22.

today,²¹ and only in the eighteenth century can the false-perspective inserts have been stuccoed in. The perspective effect is part and parcel of the fenestration, and neither was in existence during the seventeenth century. The date of this addition is given by the coat of arms over the center niche within the loggia (Fig. 80). These arms show the Borghese and Colonna heraldry and refer to the marriage of Prince Camillo Borghese and Agnese Colonna in 1723.²²

The added false-perspective arches were built in travertine only up to the level of the column bases, from which point they were finished in stucco (Figs. 84 and 85). At the same time the interior of the loggia must have been redecorated with false-perspective panels inserted in the arches around the original doors and niches (Fig. 80). The center niche with its first coat of arms is mentioned in Doc. 50. In style, the niches are so similar to other works by Ponzio²³ that they can safely be attributed both to the period of construction 1612-14 and to Ponzio himself. The eighteenth century perspective inserts join oddly with the niches; without the later additions there would be left a system of arches with doors and niches whose cornices would have just the relationship to the main cornice that was customary in the period.²⁴ The later remodeling was thus responsible for some of the features that seemed to be chief witnesses for Maderno's participation.

If Baglione thought Ponzio built the palace down to the Ripetta with its portal, what did he mean to attribute to Maderno? Perhaps he meant merely to indicate that Maderno supervised the completion of the palace after Ponzio's death. We have seen that the Ripetta portal is Ponzio's, although whether it was exclusively his design cannot be proved. If the new rustic façade was merely another version of Ponzio's 1608 garden gate it could have been executed by someone else. More pertinent for our attribution is the problem of the evolution of the general idea, since it is the hanging garden itself that gives the wing its greatest distinction. Ponzio had designed a conventional hanging garden at the Villa Torlonia in Frascati in 1608, but a more revealing parallel to the Ripetta wing is found in the Casino dell'Aurora and its elevated garden at Scipione's garden palace on the Quirinal, which was built in 1611-13.²⁵ This combination of casino and hanging garden may have been the inspiration for the Ripetta

²¹ Giuseppe Vasi, *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna*, V, Rome, 1754, Pl. 85.

²² Raffaele Luttazzi, *Vita di S. Caterina da Siena scritta dal Cav. Nicolò Borghese compendiata da Fr. Abram Bzovio... aggiuntovi l'elenco degli uomini illustri dell'eccellentissima casa Borghese*, Rome, 1869, p. 134.

²³ E.g., the large windows in the court of the Quirinal Palace flanking the end loggia; illustrated in Giulio Magni, *Il barocco a Roma*, II, Turin, 1912, Tav. 65. The similarity of these windows to those for Ponzio's house (Fig. 76) assures the attribution. Mascarino's windows planned for these wings of the Quirinal were simple (illustrated in Golzio, p. 165), and the combination of dragon with Borghese eagles at each side proves that the windows were executed under Paul V, probably in 1610-12 when Ponzio was completing the wing toward the garden.

²⁴ Such supplementary features ordinarily had cornices placed just below the main cornice or stringcourse, as can be seen in the case of the portals outside (Figs. 14 and 57).

²⁵ See Federico Zeri, "The Pallavicini Palace and Gallery in Rome - I: The Palace," *The Connoisseur*, CXXXVI, 1955, pp. 184-90.

wing, and it is significant that both Maderno and Giovanni Van Zanten were surely connected with its design.²⁶ The loggia of the Borghese palace is like a casino added to the austere long wing and it seems quite natural that it should open out onto a garden. In a period when country villas occupied the fancies of patrons and architects alike, the Palazzo Borghese combined villa with palace so far as this was possible within the confines of a city block.

To turn to details, the projecting quoining with chamfered corner joins is already seen in the Albertina drawing. As executed, it is as similar as possible to the quoining at the corners of Maderno's Palazzo Mattei di Giove.²⁷ The strongly jutting corner elements of the main palace block do not seem to accord with Ponzio's essentially timid style. The open loggia on the exterior may be considered a prelude to the revolutionary step Maderno took some ten years later at the Palazzo Barberini, where he and Borromini designed the façade with a courtyard motive on the exterior.²⁸ Maderno, therefore, seems to be the most likely candidate for the basic design, and it was very probably he who gave the loggia its imposing character. This seems to be the best interpretation of the stylistic evidence, and it has the advantage of according with Baglione's statement that Maderno "diede l'ultimo compimento al gran Palazzo de gli Eccellentissimi Borghesi a Ripetta."

Within its framework, however, the loggia presents details that are not necessarily either Ponzio's or Maderno's. Chief among these are the elaborate keystones of the lower arches and the exuberant triglyph frieze above. While the distinction is far from secure, these elements seem more in accord with the art of Giovanni Van Zanten, and are paralleled by elements on the façade of the Casino dell'Aurora of 1612-13.²⁹

Van Zanten's rise to prominence in the Borghese hierarchy is still somewhat obscure. The information presently available indicates that Ponzio's acti-

²⁶ See below, and notes 36-37. For Van Zanten (Van Santen, Vasanzio, Vansanzio, etc. - he usually signed his name "Gio. Van Zante[n]") see G. J. Hoogewerff, "Giovanni van Santen - architetto della Villa Borghese," *Roma*, VI, 1928, pp. 1-12, 49-64; *idem*, "Giovanni Vansanzio fra gli architetti del tempo di Paolo V," *Palladio*, VI, 1942, pp. 49-56; *idem*, "De Bouwmeester Jan van Santen en zijn Tijdgenooten," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, I, 1942, pp. 89-106 (similar to the *Palladio* article); *idem*, "Architetti in Roma durante il pontificato di Paolo V Borghese," *ASRSP*, LXVI, 1943, pp. 135-47; Körte's biography in Thieme-Becker (*s.v.* Vasanzio); and my notes 32, 33, and 36 below.

²⁷ Illustrated in Caffisch, Abb. 48.

²⁸ See Anthony Blunt, "The Palazzo Barberini: the Contributions of Maderno, Bernini and Pietro da Cortona," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXI, 1958, pp. 256 ff.

²⁹ See notes 25 above, 36 and 37 below. The best photograph is Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale E 21212.

The need for the frieze arose because the first floor is considerably higher than the second, and to disguise this fact the lower arcade rests on a high socle. The difference in height was still so great that the sculptured frieze was apparently inserted to reduce the discrepancy. Even so, the lower arches have a higher profile than the upper ones. These elements were not afterthoughts, like the perspective inserts, but were executed in the early phases of the building while Ponzio was still alive. Precisely how much this and other works traditionally attributed to Ponzio may owe to Maderno or Van Zanten is now hard to say.

vity was greatly curtailed in 1612. The number of building documents signed in this period is very small,³⁰ although he remained papal architect until his death on 30 March, 1613. Van Zanten seems to have risen to favor with Cardinal Scipione during 1612, and, presumably through his influence, succeeded Ponzio as papal architect. Van Zanten can be seen assuming part of Ponzio's responsibility during the very year of 1612: he achieved a leading role at Scipione's Quirinal garden³¹ and may have designed at least the upper story of the façade of S. Sebastiano f.l.m. while Ponzio, who began the work, was still alive.³²

If Van Zanten gradually replaced Ponzio in Scipione's service during 1612, whatever may have been the reasons, and if he officially succeeded him early in 1613,³³ one might wonder why his name has never been mentioned in connection with the Palazzo Borghese. The question becomes urgent when it is revealed that it was Scipione, his special patron, who paid for the Ripetta exten-

³⁰ I have found only one document signed by Ponzio during the period July-December 1612, as opposed to six signatures for diverse works in the similar period of 1611, and eleven for that of 1610. This could be circumstantial, but coupled with evidence of Van Zanten's rise it seems more significant. Ponzio may well have caught malarial fever in the course of his work on the Acqua Paola (see p. 101, note 40 below); the danger of this was so great that the Pope was repeatedly discouraged from going to examine the progress of the aqueduct. This hypothesis would admit limited activity on Ponzio's part up to his death, which seems to have been the case (cf. pp. 101 ff.).

³¹ See J. Mandl, "Zur Baugeschichte und Ausstattung des Casino Rospigliosi in Rom," *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag Hermann Egger*, Graz, 1933, pp. 63-68.

³² Baglione, p. 135, says Ponzio built the church up to the cornice, with completion in the hands of Van Zanten; in the life of the latter, p. 175, he is less specific. This passage has been interpreted as having a bearing on the façade as well as the interior, and it may; the stonework for the lower order of the façade was measured on 10 January 1613 (AB-4174). Van Zanten was already busy at the church on the 29th of that month (AB-308, no. 92,5: "Misura di tutte le segature. . . per le fabbriche del Giardino di Monte Cavallo et per servizio della Vigna dell. . . Cardinale Borghese et anco per . . . santo Bastiano 2.^o la nota fatta dal signor Gio. Architetto et dal signor Don Fabio [Damiani] . . ."). Van Zanten's style is visible in the window frames of the upper story, and it is at least open to discussion whether he may not have had an important part in the design of the whole façade. In any event, the upper part of the façade was doubtless designed by the time the lower order was complete, and this was before Ponzio's death.

³³ See Hoogewerff, *op. cit.* Until his death in 1621 Van Zanten was papal architect and the chief architect of Cardinal Scipione's many buildings, among them the palace in the Villa Pinciana (1613 on) and the enlargement of the Villa Mondragone in Frascati (1614 on). A recent attempt to reduce the extent of Van Zanten's responsibility is untenable in the light of the documents (C. D'Onofrio, *Le fontane di Roma*, Rome, 1957, p. 178, note 5). Apart from the evidence quoted in notes 32 above, 35-37 below, the testimony of Baglione (pp. 175-76), and the regular payments to Van Zanten as "architetto" listed in the *rolì di famiglia* of Paul V and of Scipione, we may mention the following: Van Zanten's signature as papal architect on a bill dated July 1613; another of the same month on the building record of the Fontanone di Ponte Sisto; his appearance as "architect" for the measurement of houses near the Palazzo Borghese in 1615; signatures for stonework for buildings of Cardinal Borghese including the Villa Pinciana (1615; 1617-19; 1621), the Quirinal garden (1615-16, including final signatures together with Maderno for the evaluation of the entire property prior to its sale), the Villa Mondragone in Frascati (1617 on), etc. His name appears on documents for the church at Monte Porzio (1618), for the palaces in Montefortino (1618) and Cecchignola (1619). (Documents in AB-308, 310, 1030, 4126, 4173-74, 5544, and ASR-GT, 39, 41, and 45). In addition, Van Zanten "architetto" received special donations from Cardinal Scipione during this period (AB-24 and 25) while the other architects did not. Van Zanten's succession as papal architect upon Ponzio's death is recorded in the *avvisi* (Orbaan, p. 209; cf. his pp. 311, note, 313 f.,

sion of 1612-14.³⁴ In fact, Van Zanten *was* active at the site, as a record of October 1613 proves.³⁵ Once this has been demonstrated, the Ripetta addition can be seen in a new light. The situation seems to parallel that which prevailed at Scipione's Quirinal garden, where Ponzio and Maderno worked together from its beginning in 1611. These two were joined by Van Zanten, who was in charge of the Casino dell'Aurora by the fall of 1612.³⁶ There he worked closely with Maderno, and there is reason to believe that the casino was begun by Maderno and completed by Van Zanten.³⁷ Even Cigoli submitted plans for the completion of the complex, and some of these seem to have been executed.³⁸ These facts, and Rainaldi's drawing, should suffice to prove that the problems of authorship in this period are much more complex than has hitherto been supposed. Since Ponzio and Maderno had already collaborated in the design of S. Pietro in Bologna in 1611,³⁹ it is probably safe to suppose that the same collaboration prevailed in the planning of the Ripetta wing. The Rainaldi drawing, and the activities of Van Zanten, are further parallels with the Quirinal complex. In both instances we are dealing with a collaboration between the major architectural mind of the period, Maderno, and a lesser figure, Ponzio. And in both constructions the rising star of Van Zanten and the death of Ponzio mark a major shift in the Borghese building enterprise. In each case it may be assumed that Maderno's role was chiefly advisory: he was probably responsible for the general plan if not for all the particulars.

343, 350 f.). An *avviso* of 8 September 1621 records his death, and informs us that Van Zanten had also been in charge of the Acqua Paola (E. Rossi in *Roma*, XIV, 1936, p. 319).

Even if we did not have this evidence, it would be rash to attribute all of these architectural works to relatively unknown men like Battisti and Bolini. Were we to do this on the basis of their numerous signatures to building documents, we should have to give many of Ponzio's and Maderno's works away as well—but what would be gained? In fact, Bolini was still only a *misuratore* in the later 1620's (AB-6089), while Battisti (cf. p. 62, note 4) was clearly in the same position until 1621; at that time he made some proposals for the completion of Mondragone "after the death of Gio. Architetto" (AB-4174; for the succession to Van Zanten, see below, p. 73, note 6).

It may be, however, that the substitution of Vecchi, Bolini, and Battisti as *misuratori* in the place of Ponzio's men (Pomis, Bonazzini, *et al.*) does signify a deeper change in the Borghese architectural hierarchy, and this change occurred in the course of 1612, before Ponzio's death.

³⁴ Payments to the workmen are listed in AB-7926, a volume of Scipione's expenses that covers the years 1610-14.

³⁵ AB-7926, fol. 72 a, 4 October 1613: "V 40 à Anibale Durante. . . per haver depinto de paesi, et indorato li Stucchi de sei quadri nella Capelletta à piano Terreno, che parte il Giardino del Corritore della fabrica nova cosl d'accordo per mezzo del signor Gio. Architetto di N. S. . ." (cf. p. 69, note 33 above).

³⁶ AB-308, Tomo LVI, 6 October 1612: "Per la fattura fatta alla Loggia grande verso la Piazza . . . stabilito tutta detta fattura fatta co'Il signor Giovanni fiamingo Architetto." This document was signed by Battisti and Bolini.

³⁷ The document quoted in note 36 mentions Maderno in another part of the hanging garden. Caffisch's attribution of the casino to Maderno (p. 81) was refuted by Mandl, *op. cit.* Neither was acquainted with the complete building records, and the whole question is still far from a proper solution; it will be discussed in my forthcoming article on the Quirinal garden. For further collaboration between Maderno and Van Zanten, this time for the rebuilding of the Ripetta port in 1614, see Orbaan, p. 222, note 1, and p. 62, note 5 above.

³⁸ This too will be discussed in the article mentioned in note 37 above.

³⁹ Caffisch, pp. 56 ff., Abb. 30-31.

As for the interior, the perspective inserts and the painted decoration of the walls of the loggia on the hanging garden give it an eighteenth century elegance. But the stuccoes of the vault seem to be original (Fig. 80), and prefigure the similar ones within Van Zanten's loggia at the Villa Mondragone in Frascati, which was built after 1617.⁴⁰ Of the original decoration, the most impressive remnant in the Ripetta wing is in the large room between the loggia and the garden which has a richly gilt stucco frieze with Borghese symbols and an elaborate ceiling frame (Fig. 81) which is a more developed version of the earlier and grander one executed under Ponzio's supervision in the Sala delle Dame of the Vatican.⁴¹ Almost everything else within was changed by Carlo Rainaldi in the 1670's and by successive generations thereafter. The ground floor gallery enfilade was not continued into the new addition in 1612-14. Instead, the wing was used to house a kitchen, an indoor tennis court, and a wine cellar. This is at least in part the explanation for the rusticated Ripetta portal—it opened into rooms never seen by the nobility who frequented the gallery and other public rooms. The wing as a whole seems always to have been Cardinal Scipione's, and in the early 1620's he moved into it for good, converting the second story into a study.

It is noteworthy that the final Borghese addition to the palace proper—the Ripetta wing—reversed the building's orientation for all time. Although the old façade and court continued to serve as the nominal entrance and center of the palace, it was the Ripetta wing which appealed to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is reflected in the prints of the time (Figs. 68, 71 and 73), and in the fact that it was this wing which was subjected to successive remodelings. It was the charm of the site and the river view that suggested the addition of the loggia by Rainaldi later in the century, which in turn played its own part in the scenographic Ripetta complex designed by Specchi (Figs. 73 and 74). These and other changes in the palace made after the death of Paul V in 1621 are discussed in the final chapter, but it would not be fair to the original designers to overlook the fact that the entire Baroque development of this wing was in a sense anticipated by the imaginative hanging garden-loggia design.

⁴⁰ Documents in AB-4126 and 4174.

⁴¹ Illustrated in Caffisch, Taf. XVII-XVIII, where it is attributed to Maderno; see below, p. 102. This kind of decoration was used in buildings by Maderno, however, such as the Palazzo Mattei, and it would be wiser to consider it the prevalent vault decoration for the years around 1610 rather than to assign it to one architect or another. An early example seems to be that in the *salone* of the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati, which may point to Maderno as the originator. See Anthony Blunt, "The Palazzo Barberini: The Contributions of Maderno, Bernini and Pietro da Cortona," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXI, 1958, pp. 258 f. and Plate 22 a and b.

It was doubtless the addition of Scipione's retinue to the already large staff of Prince Marc'Antonio that made it necessary to build a new palace entirely for servants—the Palazzo della Famiglia Borghese across the big piazza (Fig. 91). This was built by Cardinal Scipione for his own "famiglia," which numbered around a hundred persons in these years. The site of the palace was acquired between 1612 and 1624; the houses occupying the area were pulled down, and the new palace was erected in 1624–26.⁶ With the completion of this palace the

two, "a conto dell'opere di pittura che gli facciamo fare nelle stanze di sopra della n.^{ra} habitat. e", while one payment specifies "pitture soffitte" (AB-6093, fols. 132 a, nos. 310 ff.). "Capitoli e patti" for this work were signed on 22 June and again on 12 July 1631 by "mastro Marco Tullio Montagna Pittore, e mastro Fausto Tucci Indoratore per li Pitture, et indoratore delli solari, freti, e finestre nelle quattro stanze da farsi nell'appartem.^o sopra il piano nobile verso Ripetta del Palazzo. . ." (AB-6069, no. 217). But as early as 1622 payments were made to "Antonio Mariani Milanese Pittore. . . a Conto di Pitture diverse. . ." (AB-7933, fol. 30 a, no. 320, 17 March). Later in the same year Annibale Durante received a payment "... a Conto de fregi che fa fare nella habbitatione di SS. Illustrissima" (*ibid.*, fol. 49 a, no. 469). Late in 1623 Giovanni Tomaso Bruschelli was paid "à conto de fregi di pittura, che li facciamo fare per le stanze della nostra habitatione. . ." (*ibid.*, fol. 188 b, no. 498, 15 November; an earlier payment is on fol. 178 a, no. 435).

⁶ According to Francesco Cancellieri, *Il mercato, il lago dell'acqua vergina. . .*, Rome, 1811, p. 73, note, it was commonly called the "Palazzo del Sale" because it was built from funds garnered from an increase in the salt tax. The first document relating to the new palace is of 7 October 1624, signed by Sergio Venturi (AB-6053). *Misure e stime* of stonework are found in AB-6049, no. 150 (4 February 1625 – u. February 1626) and documents for the masonry are found in AB-5557, nos. 127 and 129 (the first is for work from 7 October 1624 to 10 April 1626 amounting to ∇ 28,698.49, and mentions *capitoli* drawn up in September 1624; the second is dated 18 August 1626, totaling ∇ 10,932.20. These were signed by Venturi and Bolini—cf. note 4 above). This evidence would tend to favor Venturi as architect in charge, and is supported by documents of 1626 that are signed by Bolini alone with the notation "L'Architetto è fuori di Roma." (AB-6045, *passim*). Moreover, Soria appears in the documents as a *falegname* (AB-6049, no. 135, 29 December 1625; AB 6045, no. 36, 12 February 1626, etc.; cf. note 3 above). As late as 10 March 1628 Venturi and Bolini continued to sign the building documents, but a record of repairs made during the period 17 June – 17 December 1628 was signed by Bolini and Soria. This is the first occurrence of Soria's name as architect in connection with this building, which was essentially finished by 1627. During that year the palace was extended to the rear, for which purpose a house was purchased in May of 1627 (AB-307, no. 75). The total cost of the structure was reported as ∇ 62,676.95 in AB-307, no. 74 (cf. Doc. 55, which has a similar figure). Nineteenth century plans are in AB-308, no. 113, AB-313, no. 495, and AB-317, no. 564.

According to Falda (our Fig. 91), the architect was Antonio de Battisti, whom we have met as one of the *misuratori* for the Ripetta end of the big palace (see pp. 61 f. above; cf. p. 101, note 46). According to the Anonymous 1660, fol. 170, Battisti was a pupil of Ponzio's; that work, however, attributes the building to Soria (fol. 38). Totti, *Ritratto di Roma moderna*, Rome, 1638, p. 354, says the building was begun by Battisti and completed by Soria.

The whole problem of Venturi's artistic role is more complex than this, and cannot be solved here. He was similarly active at S. Crisogono (see J. Mandl, *Die Kirche des hl. Chrysogonus in Rom*, Graz, n.d.) and at S. M. della Vittoria for the construction of the façade, which has been unanimously attributed to Soria. The building documents (dating from January 1625 to June 1627) were all signed by Venturi and/or the *misuratore* Bolini (AB-6044, no. 12; AB-6089, fol. 146 b, no. 21, and *passim*; AB-5557, no. 133; and AB-6053, no. 315). Totti, *op. cit.*, p. 504, says Venturi was one of the designers of Scipione Borghese's garden palace on the Quirinal (Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini), which was already sold to Altemps in 1616. If true (Venturi's name does not appear in the documents), this would be the earliest activity of which we have notice. Venturi signed building documents for the Villa Mondragone in September 1621, the month following Van Zanten's death. As Scipione's architect he received ∇ 3 or ∇ 3.10 per month (e.g., in records preserved in AB-5551 for the year 1624).

large Piazza Borghese assumed its essential dimensions, and in 1623 the piazza was chained off.⁷

By 1625 the ground floor gallery in the long wing of the main palace began to assume its character as essentially a painting collection by the transfer of almost 200 loads of statuary to the Villa Pinciana.⁸ The latter had already been adorned with statues by Bernini, and the nature of the two collections was now set for many years.

Prince Marc'Antonio also made changes in the palace during the 1620's, when some rooms above the second story loggia of the court on the side of the Via de' Condotti were made into a new apartment.⁹ These rooms were given decorative friezes by Giovanni Serodine that are no longer to be seen.¹⁰ Even after Scipione's death in 1633 the palace continued to grow in its sphere of influence as the Borghese family became richer and more powerful.

The generation of Paul V was singularly unprolific. An older brother died young; his brother Francesco died childless, and the third, Giovanni Battista, produced but one child, Marc'Antonio, later Prince of Sulmona, who got the entire Borghese inheritance. In 1620 he married the sixteen-year-old Camilla

As early as 10 February 1622 Scipione gave ∇ 150 to "... Sergio Venturi nostro Architetto... per donativo et recognitione di tante le sue fatighe fatte per uso nostro..." (AB-7933, fol. 19 a, no. 131; similar payments are found through most of the 1620's). In the same documents Bolini always appears as *perito* or *misuratore*. Soria seems to have remained chiefly a *falegname* even though his name occasionally appears on documents for minor works of sculpture, as at S. M. della Vittoria for the relief by Domenico de Rossi da Fuizano over the façade door (AB-6053, no. 357, 15 September 1627).

Sometime during 1627 or 1628 Soria seems to have succeeded Venturi as Scipione's actual architect, although Venturi remained on the payroll for several more years as "architetto." The last major building document signed by Venturi as architect is one for masonry at the Villa Pinciana, executed between 30 August 1627 and 3 March 1628 (AB-5059, no. 107), and the last building document of any kind signed by him is of 18 May 1628 for miscellaneous works (AB-6057, no. 327). From this time on Soria appears as Scipione's only architect.

⁷ The building at present on the northwest side of the piazza replaces the stables, which covered much of the same ground. These were built in 1610 (AB-4168, 7 October 1610) with many additions and changes made in later years.

The chains and stone posts fencing off the piazza from the public street were measured in September 1623 (AB-5547, nos. 44, 57, and 100; the stonework was executed by Battista Serodine *Intagliatore* (see note 10 below).

⁸ AB-6089, fol. 156 b, no. 68.

⁹ AB-5547, no. 60, 7 September 1623: "Misura, et stima dell'opera di muro delle 4 stanze fatte di novo sopra la loggia di cima nel Cortile del Palazzo... quali congiungano con l'Appartamento Vecchio..." signed by Battisti, and valued at ∇ 383.88. *Ibid.*, no. 234, 29 December 1623, records a "Misura e stima de lavori di scarpello fatti... al Appartamento fatto di novo al Piano di cima sopra la loggia del Cortile nel Palazzo... numero 9 finestre cioe numero 7 in opera et numero 2 fuor di opera quale sono nella loggia à canto l'ordegnio del Acqua..." signed by Battisti, and valued at ∇ 79.36.

¹⁰ AB-5547, no. 74, 3 October 1623: "Stima delli fregi di Pittura fatti da M. Giovanni Serodine Pittore nelle tre stanze del Apartamento fatto di Novo dal Eccellentissimo Signore Principe Borghese, nella loggia di cima del Cortile nel Palazzo di S. E. alla strada de Condotti visti e fatti vedere da diversi Pittori stimati come sotto" (signed Battisti) ∇ 90. (Payments of 23 August and 4 September are in AB-5546, nos. 448 and 458; AB-5547, no. 6, 13 September 1623, records another payment of ∇ 20 "a bon conto delli fregi..."). I owe my knowledge of these documents to Dr. Italo Faldi, who hopes to publish the frescos if they still exist under later additions.

Orsini, and from this union an heir, Paolo, was born in 1624. Paolo married Olimpia Aldobrandini at the age of fifteen; in 1639 the youthful pair produced Giovanni Battista, who lived until 1717. Paolo died prematurely in 1646, and Marc'Antonio died in 1658, leaving the young prince some sixty years as the head of the family. Although his mother married a second time, she was sole heiress of the great Aldobrandini fortune of which half stayed with the Borghese. In 1658 Giovanni Battista married Eleonora Boncompagni, and the Borghese became richer still.¹¹

By this time Rome was in the midst of the exuberant Baroque period that made the city almost as memorable as did her antique glory. Little wonder if Prince Giovanni Battista and his princess found their sprawling palace old-fashioned and a little dull.¹² In 1671 the prince began a rebuilding and redecorating program that lasted ten years, under the architectural direction of Carlo Rainaldi.¹³ The date and extent of Rainaldi's activity for the Borghese have not been previously known. Until now, only the garden and the little columnar balcony on the Ripetta were known to have been Rainaldi's, and these were usually dated ca. 1690. In actual fact, the work at the Palazzo Borghese is contemporary with the construction of the rear façade of S. M. Maggiore (1673), his last major commission.

We first hear of work at the palace in a document of 1671 that records extensive rebuilding in the Ripetta wing and elsewhere (Doc. 57). A great deal of work was done in the upper floors, but the most important changes were made on the ground floor. At this time the mezzanines were ripped out and another *piano nobile* created (cf. Fig. 50). The old rooms that had been added toward the Ripetta in 1612-14 were completely remodeled, a kitchen was removed, doors and walls were changed, the floor level was raised to conform with the older gallery, and the perspective enfilade was prolonged through this room and out the wall (Fig. 86; Docs. 60-62). That involved walling up the center window on that side and cutting a new oblique opening. This is shown accurately only in Fig. 88; all other plans of the palace show the center window still in place, which is incorrect. Remnants of this older window can still be seen outside.

But, more surprising, the perspective view was continued even beyond, since the vista afforded by the enfilade was merely the side of a house next door. As it happened, the Borghese already owned this house. It had been purchased in 1658 for the purpose of building a church on the site.¹⁴ The project was

¹¹ Lutazzi and Bzovio, *Vita di S. Caterina. . . aggiuntovi l'Elenco degli uomini illustri dell'ecce-lentissima casa Borghese, passim*. Cf. Leone Vicchi, *Villa Borghese*, Rome, 1885, Chapter V, and *passim*.

¹² The Ripetta wing had, moreover, been damaged by fire in 1662 (AB-307, no. 90).

¹³ Although Docs. 57-61 are of 1671-77, the woodworker's documents date from 1676-80 (AB-1477).

¹⁴ Palace and church were to have been connected by an arch over the Via dell'Arancio. The sale of the house on 27 May 1658 is recorded in AB-6095 ter, fol. 24 v, no. 1. AB-310, no. 214, contains measurements for houses on the site of the proposed church and discussions of the disposition of the church itself, which by that time (1658) had already been planned. For the palace at present

never executed, and since the vista of the river and hills beyond was infinitely desirable, Rainaldi may have considered tearing the house down. In the end he hit upon a more ingenious solution. An oblique passage was cut through the house in order to extend the view to the Tiber and beyond. And in order to make the effect even more surprising and baffling, a fountain was suspended in the opening and other jets installed in the passage so that spouts of water would beshimmer the vista (Doc. 60-61). The new perspective view is seen in the various Specchi prints of ca. 1700 (Figs. 71 and 73). One of them shows the opposite side of the Tiber as well (Fig. 74).¹⁵ In this view Rainaldi achieved by natural means the kind of perspective built by Borromini at the Palazzo Spada. Both afforded an unusual and apparently long view through an enclosed space and out to the open air beyond, but although the Borghese perspective was baffling, it was not a trick; this reduced its fame. Now it does not exist, but we can fall back upon nineteenth century photographs for its exterior appearance (e.g., Fig. 89), while the impression of the enfilade is recorded charmingly by the *Président de Brosses*:

Les appartements sont immenses, surtout le grand appartement d'en bas, composé d'une enfilade de salles et galeries remplies de tableaux. On a fait paraître l'enfilade encore plus longue qu'elle ne l'est par un artifice fort agréable. Le pièce de l'extrémité donne sur le Tibre et est ouverte par une porte-fenêtre; dans le terrain vis-à-vis, de l'autre côté du Tibre, on y a pratiqué une suite de jets d'eau qui, vus de l'autre bout de l'appartement, forment un joli coup d'oeil, à un éloignement considérable, terminé par un petit cabinet fait exprès, toute cette distance paraissant appartenir à la maison.¹⁶

Clearly the *Président* was fooled by the whole complex and thought the fountain in the neighboring house was across the river. The fact that the perspective was carried through a separate building escaped his memory.

The work for this remodeling was measured only in 1676, and some work continued until 1677 (Doc. 61).¹⁷ At the same time the little covered loggia at the Ripetta end of the palace was also measured (Fig. 89). *Avvisi* and documents clearly show this, along with all the other works of the period, to have been executed by 1676 (Doc. 59). An *avviso* of 24 August 1675 says:

Il signor Prencipe Borghese fà fabbricare nel suo superbo palazzo una nuova bellissima ringhiera dalla parte di Ripetta, che spiccando bella Prospettiva, dicesi l'abbi fatto per vedere la verdura di quella campagna, che stà ivi d'intorno.¹⁸

on the site, see Ottorino Montenovesi, "Gens Burghesia," *Capitolium*, XXIX, 1954, pp. 90 ff. The old façade is in Letarouilly, I, Plate 10.

¹⁵ Figs. 73 and 74 are from the large three sheet-engraving of the Ripetta by Alessandro Specchi, the architect of the remarkable port built in 1704-05. Thomas Ashby and Stephen Welsh, "Alessandro Specchi," *The Town Planning Review*, XII, 1927, pp. 237-48, Fig. 5, show a somewhat different view of the opposite bank.

¹⁶ De Brosses, *Lettres familières*, ed. Bezand, II, Paris, 1931, p. 43.

¹⁷ Passeri, writing in the very years of the redecoration of this part of the palace, was perhaps the first to mention the "nobile Appartamento fatto di nuovo con Regia magnificenza al piano del Giardino. . ." (*Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri*, ed. Hess, Leipzig/Vienna, 1934, p. 43).

¹⁸ *Barb. lat.* 6413, fol. 289 v, printed by Rossi in *Roma*, XIX, 1941, p. 76. See Doc. 58.

Its construction was prompted by the desire for a covered loggia at the end of the Ripetta wing; what was wanted was a permanent version of the *palchi* that were often built in order to watch the public spectacles that were so characteristic of this period, and Rainaldi met this need with some ingenuity. In front of the 1612-14 façade he built a balcony supported by free-standing Tuscan columns that are flanked by piers faced with pilasters. Access to the balcony from within was given by two opposing flights of stairs that curved to meet the center (Figs. 47 and 88).

Since the exterior structure had to span the portal, which was reduced in height, the effect became similar to the lower story of a small Baroque church façade, progressing inward from pilasters to columns, and forward at the portal from the plane of the side columns (Fig. 89). Within the limits of the situation Rainaldi recreated the elements found in the center bays of S. M. in Campitelli, which he had built in the previous decade. On the smallest possible scale the balcony above breaks back, dividing the outer columns from their mates within. This results in the kind of ambiguity that has been analyzed so well by Wittkower.¹⁹ The break in the entablature serves to isolate the center element of the tiny structure and so hints of the aedicula form he had always preferred in his façade designs.

The High Baroque columnar structure with its characteristic balustrade does not contrast unpleasantly with the severity of the now colossal Ionic façade and balcony built sixty years before. Any such addition had to ruin the older façade as a composition, and Rainaldi cannot be blamed for designing a work in his own manner. The juxtaposition embodies a neat lesson in the change of taste and the evolution of the Baroque style; interestingly enough, the comparison is not at all to the disadvantage of the earlier work. But whatever one may think or feel about Rainaldi's addition, the effect achieved by the superposed wooden structure with its shuttered center section (now glassed in) can never have been a purely esthetic success. Its *raison d'être* was to afford a protected view from the inside, and this function it served satisfactorily.

A final blow to the Ripetta façade was sustained late in the last century, when in the course of the systematization of the Tiber banks, the Via di Ripetta was paved at a higher level than before. This destroyed the high socle visible in Fig. 89, and with it the grace and proportion of Rainaldi's design. It was this circumstance that led the Borghese to commission a reconstruction of the original façade, which was never carried out (Fig. 75).²⁰

The most successful and delightful of the additions to the Palazzo Borghese is the garden with its fountains (Fig. 90). This, too, was part of the work done in the 1670's. Since I have discussed it in detail elsewhere,²¹ it will suffice

¹⁹ "Carlo Rainaldi and the Roman Architecture of the Full Baroque," *The Art Bulletin*, XIX, 1937, pp. 258 ff., 290 ff.

²⁰ AB-8619, from which Fig. 75 is taken. See above, p. 62.

²¹ "Palazzo Borghese Studies - I: The Garden and Its Fountains," *The Burlington Magazine*, C, 1958, pp. 205-12, 252-53.

to point out that the first man in charge was not Rainaldi, but Johann Paul Schor. He was relieved of his position in July 1672,²² and Rainaldi executed the designs with many changes during the following year.²³

Within the palace a *galleria* was created perpendicular to the ground floor enfilade (Figs. 86 and 87). This was decorated with busts of the Caesars and stuccoes celebrating events from their lives; the executant sculptor was Cosimo Fancelli.²⁴ Painted mirrors decorate the walls. The artistic director of this enterprise was Giovan Francesco Grimaldi, who designed the stucco decorations himself. Grimaldi also worked as a painter, notably in the low room at the end of the Ripetta wing (cf. Doc. 58). These works were finished in the mid-1670's, but minor repairs and decorations dragged on for years.

II. LATER HISTORY.

The later history of the palace will not be treated in detail here. We have seen in Chapter 5 that the perspective windows facing the hanging garden must date from the eighteenth century, when the loggia was altered and the windows closed in (p. 67 above). Before 1771 a small apartment had been redecorated,²⁵ and a document of 1782 records the artists involved in another series of paintings.²⁶ By the later eighteenth century the palace had been split up into various apartments;²⁷ one of these, the second floor apartment toward the Ripetta, was redecorated on the occasion of the marriage of Camillo Borghese and Paolina Bonaparte in 1803.²⁸ These apartments, and those below them, retain much of the character of that period. Elaborate drawings are preserved of a nineteenth century project to remodel the garden (Fig. 88), but the only result of this plan was the extension of the spiral stair block to create a large vestibule for the first floor apartment.²⁹

²² *Ibid.*, p. 206, note 12. The sentence following in the text stating that this occurred in August is in error.

²³ We can here no more than mention the two rooms in the mezzanine apartment (now belonging to the Cavazza family) that were painted in 1671-72 by Gaspard Dughet, Filippo Lauri, Luigi Garzi, *et al.* (Documents in AB-1450, 1451, 1453, and 1454). See Bianca Riccio, "Vita di Filippo Lauri di Francesco Saverio Balducci," *Commentari*, X, 1959, pp. 3 and 11 f., Tav. III and IV.

²⁴ This is discussed in *The Burlington Magazine*, CIV, 1962, pp. 9 ff.

²⁵ Pietro Rossini, *Il mercurio errante delle grandezze di Roma...*, Rome, 1771, p. 77: "Chi poi vuol vedere alcune stanze accomodate all'ultima usanza col maggior gusto, e vaghezza possibile, ossarvi l'appartamentino del fu Eccellentissimo Signor D. Giacomo Borghese, zio dell'odierno Principe."

²⁶ AB-316, no. 560: "Memoria dei Pittori che depinsero nell'appartamento a sinistra del piano terreno del Palazzo Borghese occupato da Don Ippolito e per suo ordine eseguiti." This is the Cavazza apartment mentioned above, note 23. The painters involved were Domenico Corvi, Francesco Decapo, Gregorio Fianza, and Benedetto Fabbiani.

²⁷ Drawings for architectural changes made in the apartments of the upper floors are in AB-8611.

²⁸ AB-309, no. 112.

²⁹ This and other drawings for the same project are in AB-8611.

Little more was done that could be called constructive although the façade was stuccoed and restored in 1830;³⁰ the fountains may have been restored in 1882,³¹ and other restorations were carried out in 1886 and later.³²

Outside the palace proper, the Borghese had acquired a piece of property under Urban VIII not heretofore mentioned: the site near the palace on the Via di Ripetta on which was built a palace called "della Penna" after the shape of the site.³³ The building was partially destroyed by fire in 1734,³⁴ but plans of 1758 show it to have been rebuilt.³⁵ It was finally sold under Gregory XVI (1831-46)³⁶ and nothing now remains of it.

On the corner of the Borghese palace block, on the Via dell'Arancio and the Via di Monte d'Oro, a new building was built by the Borghese in the mid-nineteenth century that has no connection with the palace.³⁷

The present condition of the Palazzo Borghese is melancholy enough: its great court serves as a parking lot; its exhibition rooms are let for commercial purposes; its reception rooms are cut up, or used for a private club. Far better to recall the glorious state of the palace in the eighteenth century, as described by Pietro Rossini in his famous *Mercurio errante*:

Giungesi poco dopo alli due Palazzi degl'Eccellentissimi Signori Principi Borghesi, cioè uno abitato da essi, e l'altro dalla di loro Famiglia eretto con disegno di Antonio de Baptistis.

Quello abitate dagli'Eminentissimi Signori Principi si può paragonare alle grandezze degl'antichi Romani. Nel Cortile i Portici, e le Loggie sono sostenute da cento colonne di granito orientale, con le tre statue, di Giulia Pia, di Faustina, e di Sabina, ed il Corpo di una Amazzone d'un singolar Maestro; nel Giardinetto vi sono diverse Statue, e stucchi per ornamento delle fontane, che vi sono dell'acqua vergine; vi è quantità di vasi d'agrumi d'ogni sorte; vicino alla scala vi sono belli scherzi d'acque.

Il famoso Appartamento terreno, dove dimora il Signor Principe l'Estate, ha dodici stanze tutte ornate di rare, e vaghe Pitture, di num. circa mille, e settecento, tutte originali. Farò menzione d'alcuni pezzi più rari, perchè a fare menzione di tutti, sarebbe troppo lungo il discorso, dico bene, che sono delli migliori Pittori de secoli passati . . .

Nella famosa Galleria veramente mirabile ornata di stucchi, e Bassirilievi, tutta messa a oro, vi sono le due fontane d'alabastro orientale, con due Tavolini compagni; vi sono otto Specchi ornati di figure, da Ciro Ferri, e di fiori, dallo Stanchi. Li dodici Cesari di porfido con Busti d'alabastro cotignino rarissimi, e quattro Consoli simili; In altra Stanza vi sono belle pitture in piccolo: . . . si vede poi in altra stanza una bella Tavola d'alabastro cotognino; i Paesi a fresco dipinti da Gio. Francesco Bolognese. Ascenderete alla Ringhiera, e vedrete la prospettiva del Fiume.

³⁰ AB-310, no. 179.

³¹ AB-325, no. 525, 15. The documents are estimates, one of 1879, the other of 1882.

³² AB-316, no. 558. Further restorations of 1888-91 are recorded in AB-318, no. 623.

³³ The first secure date for this palace is 1628 (AB-307, no. 79, with a plan; cf. AB-309, no. 97).

³⁴ AB-309, no. 105, and Romano, I, p. 64, note 15.

³⁵ AB-313, no. 419. More plans are in AB-307, no. 79 and AB-415, no. 525, 29.

³⁶ AB-313, no. 488.

³⁷ Documents in AB-4198.

Nell'Appartamento della Signora Principessa per l'Estate, nella prima stanza vi sono due gran letti, ornati di tela d'oro verde, e vi sono rare pitture. . . Nel medesimo Appartamento, vi sono due fontane d'alabastro. . . In questo Appartamento vi sono 300. pezzi di quadri di Raffaello, e di Tiziano. In tutto questo nobile Palazzo vi sono settanta due porte di noce con li portali, o stipiti di Alabastro cotognino.

Anderete per una scaletta ai mezzanini dipinti a fresco dal Tempesta, e dal Manciola; i belli Paesi di Gasparo Pussini; sei figure di Ciro Ferri, e di Pietro da Cortona.

Nell'Appartamento di sopra nobile vi sono belle pitture a fresco; il Ratto delle Sabine del Cappuccino Laico; la Regina Saba quando va a visitare il Re Salomone, del medesimo Cappuccino; così le pitture nel soffitto del medesimo. .

Nell'Appartamento del Signor Principe per l'inverno, vi sono anco belle pitture del medesimo Cappuccino; come anche belle Tapezzerie, ed Arazzi; tra gli altri una Camera, che è disegno di Paolo Veronese, stimato 40. mila scudi; vi è un Oratorio bellissimo con vaghi ornamenti d'oro, e d'argento, essendo tutte cose veramente degne da vedersi. . . ³⁸

³⁸ Rossini, *Il mercurio errante*. . . , I, Rome, 1776, pp. 431 ff.

APPENDIX I



APPENDIX I

BIOGRAPHY OF MARTINO LONGHI IL VECCHIO

With the new information that has been presented concerning the Palazzo Borghese, it is now possible to see Longhi's career in a new light (some discussion of Longhi's style is found on p. 16, note 55; pp. 32 f. and note 43; and p. 41 above). The following biographical sketch is more accurately a list of works since little is known about the man.

Like the other Longhis in Rome associated with the arts and the building trades, Martino Longhi (Longo, Lunghi, etc.) was born in Viggiù, a small town northeast of Varese near Lake Lugano.¹ Since this area was ruled by Milan, he was often called "Milanese," as were his sons and his grandson Martino il Giovane.

The date of his birth is not known; all we know about the beginning of his career is Baglione's statement that "da principio fu egli capo maestro de' lavori de' marmi."² Longhi apparently died on 11 June 1591, and according to Baglione, he was old.³ To be "old" probably meant at least fifty-five to Baglione, who was twenty at the time of Longhi's death.⁴ Since Longhi was already papal architect in 1572-73, it seems probable that he was born before 1540. Furthermore,

¹ Caravatti, *passim*. This book is riddled with errors, but it is the only source for much of our information. Longhi's father was named Francesco (A. Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi a Roma. . .*, II, Milan, 1881, p. 25).

² Baglione, p. 68. This is the main source for Longhi's career. Baglione's life was copied almost word for word as a kind of preface to the life of Onorio Longhi in Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti*, Rome, 1736, pp. 511-12. Pascoli filled in Baglione's sketchy life with a few details that were probably invented. Neither of these sources mentions works by Longhi in north Italy. Thieme-Becker, following an article by C. von F(abriczy), "Decorative Sculpturwerke von Galeazzo Alessi," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIX, 1896, p. 84, says the façade of S. M. presso S. Celso in Milan was finished by Longhi after 1569-70. The architect in charge at this time was apparently Martino Bassi. Cf. Giovanni Rocco, "La facciata di S. M. presso S. Celso a Milano," *Palladio*, IV, 1940, pp. 123-130, and the documents in Costantino Baroni, *Documenti per la storia dell'architettura a Milano nel rinascimento e nel barocco*, I, 1, Florence, 1940.

³ Thieme-Becker, s. v. Longhi, based on a document found by Friedrich Noack. This early date is apparently confirmed by a statement by Giovanni Fontana of 15 June 1591 that already refers to Longhi as dead (ASR, *Archivio del Tribunale del Archivio de' Notari Capitolini*, Atti di Diomede Ricci, 6236, fol. 594 - copy). The secure date for the death of Longhi in 1591 rules out the various attributions to him of work done as late as 1594, including a "document" mentioned by Carlo Cecchelli (see p. 91, note 54 below). At least as mysterious is the reference to a speech that he was supposed to give early in 1594 to the Accademia di S. Luca (Romano Alberti, *Origine, et progresso dell'Accademia del Disegno. . .*, Pavia, 1604, p. 55).

⁴ For instance, Baglione speaks of the architect Flaminio Ponzio as dying at forty-five "nel fiore del suo operare," (p. 135 f.) In fact, Ponzio was fifty-three, a good ten years older than Baglione himself.

he was apparently a contemporary of Giacomo della Porta, who was born in 1533;⁵ Longhi was active as an architect earlier than Domenico Fontana, who was born in 1543. He is thus one of a distinct generation of late sixteenth century architects that also includes Ottaviano Mascarino, born in 1536, and Francesco da Volterra.

Since Longhi's wife was from Crema it is possible that he was active in Lombardy before coming to Rome.⁶ Onorio, his first son, was born in 1569.⁷ This might indicate a marriage date of ca. 1568. It has recently been discovered that Longhi was in fact working in North Italy in 1568. In that year he directed the construction of S. Croce in Bosco Marengo, and later he was the architect in charge.⁸ The church, however, was already begun in 1566 under the direction of Egnazio Danti. Since the impetus for the construction came from Pius V, who was a native of Bosco Marengo, the assumption is that the plans were sent from Rome, as were a number of shipments of architectural sculpture. The church façade has a generic resemblance to Vignola's S. M. dell'Orto; apparently the Bosco Marengo design came from Vignola's circle, a presumption that gains strength from the association of Danti and Longhi with the execution (cf. pp. 14 and 33 note 43).

The first proof of Longhi's presence in Rome is a document of 13/14 February 1569, but he may have been there before his work at Bosco Marengo.⁹ Baglione hesitantly attributed to Longhi the Cesi chapel in S. M. Maggiore, which is supposedly dated 1565.¹⁰ This chapel, dedicated to St. Catherine, is stylistically so close to Guidetto Guidetti's façade for S. Caterina dei Funari, built for Cardinal Federico Cesi by 1564, that Giovannoni very properly attributed the chapel to Guidetti as well.¹¹ Baglione's error is easily understood, not only because he did not know of Guidetti's existence, but also because Longhi was at a later time the Cesi architect in Rome.

⁵ A. Schiavo, "Notizie biografiche su Giacomo della Porta," *Palladio*, VII, 1957, p. 41.

⁶ Vatican city, Archivio del Vicariato, *Stato d'anime*, SS. Apostoli, 45 (1595-1609), fol. 33 v: "Elisabeth Ugliata (sic) Cremasca." But Giuseppe Merzario, *I maestri comacini*, II, Milan, 1893, p. 481, speaks of "una signora Olgiato da Como."

⁷ It is just possible that Onorio was born in Lombardy. In the *Morti*, SS. Apostoli (Archivio del Vicariato, Vatican), 2 (1610-21), fol. 82, Onorio is listed as dead on 31 December 1619: "D. Honorius Lungus Mediolanen. . ." This suggests that he was born in Viggiù, but on other occasions he was called "romano;" cf. Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi*, II, p. 51. Galletti, in *Vat. lat.* 7875, fol. 225: "† Ill. d. Honorius Lungus Romano. . . annor. 50." A memorial plaque in S. Carlo al Corso reads: "D.O.M. HONORIO PATRI ET MARTINO DE LONGHIS FILIO ORIGINE MEDIOLANEN. CIVIBUS ROMANIS. . ." (Forcella, V, p. 352, no. 977). See p. 93, note 64 below.

⁸ Mercedes Ferrero Viale, *La Chiesa di Santa Croce a Bosco Marengo*, Turin, 1959, p. 11 and *passim*.

⁹ See p. 32, note 41 above. The document of 1569 is found in F. Grossi-Gondi, *Le ville tuscolane: La villa dei Quintili e la villa Mondragone*, Rome, 1901, p. 167.

¹⁰ Forcella, XI, p. 41, no. 76; the date is of Cardinal Cesi's death, and the chapel must have been begun earlier. Baglione, p. 68: "e dicono, che dentro la Basilica (Longhi) facesse la capella per li Sig. Cesi. . ." This "dicono" is a sign given by Baglione that the information is not necessarily reliable.

¹¹ Giovannoni, pp. 193 f.

Owing to a pronounced Vignolesque tendency in his early works, we can assume that Longhi worked under Vignola († 1573) when he came to Rome. Vignola was Cardinal Altemps' architect in 1569 when Longhi visited the Cardinal's villa at Frascati (the "Villa Vecchia") and it seems likely that Longhi was then Vignola's assistant.¹² If so, it was probably as Vignola's assistant that he appeared in Bosco Marengo the year before. Longhi followed Vignola as Cardinal Altemps' architect and built the first block of the Villa Mondragone in Frascati, which was begun early in 1573.¹³ Longhi was also the first papal architect of Gregory XIII.¹⁴ These facts all suggest that Longhi was associated with Vignola during the old master's last years.

The only building by Vignola with which Longhi's name has been connected (apart from the Villa Vecchia in Frascati, mentioned above) is the façade of S. M. dell'Orto. Its lower story is dated 1563-67, but the upper order was completed only after Vignola's death.¹⁵ Vignola's design was altered in execution, and although the documents do not mention Longhi, the central window above the entrance is very similar to Longhi's niches in the Villa Mondragone façade.

The early years of Gregory XIII's pontificate mark the first important phase of Longhi's known career; he seems to have had more commissions at this time than in any other comparable period. Drawings for both executed and unexecuted projects are preserved with a larger number of Mascarino's drawings in the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome.¹⁶ Many of these date from the 1570's and may have passed into Mascarino's hands when the latter more or less took charge of Gregory's building program in the latter part of the pontificate.

Longhi apparently drew up new designs for the second (north) wing of the present Cortile di S. Damaso at the Vatican, an extension first planned by Li-

¹² Grossi-Gondi, *loc. cit.* He is called "architetto."

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 45 f.

¹⁴ Pastor, IX, p. 906. Since Gregory had strong Bolognese predilections and was in addition an intimate friend of Cardinal Altemps, it seems clear that he was guided in his choice of architect by Vignola, Gregory's first architect of St. Peter's, who was both Bolognese and the Altemps architect.

¹⁵ Furio Fasolo, *La fabbrica cinquecentesca di Santa Maria dell'Orto*, Rome, (1945), pp. 46 ff., shows that the upper façade was built in the mid-1570's. Longhi's name is not mentioned in the documents, which speak of the "architect" and of designs by Francesco da Volterra—evidently two different people. Apart from the window, the upper façade seems to be Volterra's, and is to be associated with that of S. Macuto, dated 1577 and on (F. Fasolo, "Disegni inediti di un architetto romano del settecento," *Palladio*, I, 1951, p. 189, Doc. b, gives documents of 1577-79) and with S. Lorenzo in Panisperna (façade dated 1574), which I would also attribute to Volterra. All of these were probably designed with circular windows above the entrance. The Franzini-Parasio *Cose meravigliose*. . . , Rome, 1600, p. 35, shows a circular window in S. M. dell'Orto, and it is thus possible that the present window is later or that the woodcut illustrates an unexecuted project. (The woodcuts in the Rome guides are usually considerably older than the dates of the books and cannot be used as documentary evidence except with the greatest caution).

The façade of S. M. dell'Orto was attributed to Longhi by Falda, *Nuovo Teatro*, by Titi, and by other such secondary sources.

¹⁶ Golzio, pp. 164-94; Ackerman, p. 102, note 2, and *passim*. Mr. Jack Wasserman has made a study of the drawings and has several studies based on them that will soon be published.

For Mascarino, see above, pp. 15 f. and 32 f., and below, p. 87.

gorio in 1563; construction began in January 1574.¹⁷ The first floor was decorated in 1575, the second in 1576-77.¹⁸

The remodeling of the Palazzo Armellini in Borgo Vecchio for Cardinal Pietro Donato Cesi apparently began in the early or mid-1570's.¹⁹ For the Jubilee of 1575 Longhi restored the Early Christian portico of S. M. Maggiore, which was in turn destroyed to make way for Fuga's façade.²⁰ In the same year Longhi built the Capuchin church of S. Francesco in Frascati.²¹ During this time work was also continuing at the Villa Mondragone, and during 1578-80 he built the "Retirata di Mondragone," a smaller palace above the main palace block.²² Perhaps in 1575-76 Longhi began another Altemps project, the rebuilding of the city palace on the Piazza S. Apollinare, north of the Piazza Navona.²³ The Palazzo Cesi-Poli at the Trevi fountain may have been roughly contemporary, although work apparently continued into the 1590's; it was entirely rebuilt in the nineteenth century.²⁴

In the meantime Longhi participated in the customary *misura* for other people's constructions,²⁵ and in 1578 he managed to win the competition for the erection of a new campanile over the Palazzo del Senatore on the Capitol.²⁶ The

¹⁷ Ackerman, p. 102. The attribution of Golzio no. 118 to Longhi (p. 102, note 3) is incorrect according to Mr. Wasserman.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*; cf. Jacob Hess, "Le logge di Gregorio XIII: l'architettura ed i caratteri della decorazione," *L'Illustrazione vaticana*, VI, 1935, pp. 1270-75.

¹⁹ Schiavo, *La Fontana di Trevi* . . . , Rome, 1956, p. 91, note, calls Longhi's drawing for the façade its entrance piece for the Guild of St. Luke's (Longhi was received as a member on 18 October 1575), but Mr. Wasserman tells me that there is no basis for this statement. The drawing is reproduced in Mario Zocca, "Il palazzo Cesi in Borgo Vecchio," *Capitolium*, XII, 1937, p. 444 (wrongly numbered 344); Zocca dates the renovation of the palace 1572-85. From the evidence remaining in the palace it would seem that Longhi built only the portal on the old façade (Fig. 15), and rebuilt or extended some part of the palace to the rear. The main cornice was never built.

²⁰ Baglione, p. 68, and *idem*, *Le nove chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1639, p. 161. The coupled columns of Longhi's portico are also found in the contemporary portico of S. Gregorio Magno, built by Pietro Nigino (?); cf. Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, I, Vatican City, 1937, p. 321 and note 7.

²¹ Pastor, IX, pp. 839 and 906. It appears that more work took place at the church in 1579 (p. 838, note 4). The façade is inscribed 1575.

²² Grossi-Gondi, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.

²³ Attributed to Longhi by Baglione. The most complete history of the site is in A. Proia and P. Romano, *Roma nel Cinquecento: Ponte*, II, Rome, 1941, pp. 102 ff. Altemps bought the old palace in 1568; in 1574 and again in 1575 it was partially destroyed by fire, which led Altemps to allocate ∇ 40,000 for its restoration. In 1615 the whole palace was valued at ∇ 85,129.40 (AB-307, no. 59).

²⁴ Schiavo, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 ff. Dated by Ferrerio 1586.

²⁵ Pio Pecchiai, *Il Campidoglio nel Cinquecento*, Rome, 1950, pp. 28 ff. Well-known architects like Longhi were continually giving estimates and participating in measurements of work in accordance with the practice of the period—it was from this activity that profits were made, since the *misuratore* received a percentage of the value determined. One such minor job is attested by a document of 1588 preserved in the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome: "Misura e stima fatta da Martin Longo Architetto d'una casa compra dal Card. Rusticucci in borgo nuovo contigua il suo palazzo. . .," 2 July 1588. (This *misura* is in part the subject of the document mentioned in another connection on p. 83, note 3 above.)

²⁶ Herbert Siebenhüner, *Das Kapitol in Rom*, Munich, 1954, p. 99, with bibliography to date. See also Carlo Pietrangeli, "Campane e orologi sul Campidoglio," *Capitolium*, XXXII, 4, 1957, pp. 1 ff. Longhi lost the competition of 1578 for the *cordonata* to della Porta (Siebenhüner, p. 101).

cornerstone of the campanile was laid in 1579 and work was finished in 1583. The foundation medal of 1578 suggested to Siebenhüner that Longhi may also have had a façade design of his own that remained unexecuted. What the medal probably does document, however, is della Porta's project, which even then showed the change from Michelangelo's two story structure to the design with *piano nobile* and attic such as was ultimately built. The campanile construction put Longhi side by side with the *Architetto del Popolo Romano*, Giacomo della Porta, a situation enjoyed by neither according to the conjectures of Pecchiai.²⁷

Longhi was admitted to the *Virtuosi al Pantheon* in 1579²⁸ when he must have been close to the height of his fame. In 1580, probably because of his success at the Capitol, he was entrusted with the erection of a new campanile for S. M. in Via Lata,²⁹ which was replaced or changed by Pietro da Cortona in the next century but which is visible on the Rome maps of Tempesta and Maggi.

In the later 1570's a new phase of Longhi's career began with the appearance of the Bolognese Ottaviano Mascarino as a papal architect.³⁰ Mascarino's father had been associated with Vignola in Bologna,³¹ and the son soon found favor as an architect; from this time on Longhi seems to have played a subordinate role in the building program of Gregory XIII. Mascarino built the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Belvedere by 1580; he was also responsible for the Torre dei Venti.³² Whether Mascarino was preferred as a result of the Pope's *campanilismo* or for better reasons is not known, but he continued to be the favored architect of the Pope and in 1582 probably began construction of the papal palace on the Quirinal. The drawings in the Accademia di S. Luca suggest a collaboration between Longhi and Mascarino, and both apparently worked at the Quirinal. Although Mascarino was certainly in charge of the building as a whole, Longhi may have been at least partially responsible for the design of the tower.³³

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff., and 191 ff., which gives an interesting insight into Longhi's mentality. Cf. Siebenhüner, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 ff., and Lanciani, II, pp. 72 f.

²⁸ J. A. F. Orbaan, "Virtuosi al Pantheon," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXVII, p. 28; proposed and accepted on the 12th of April.

²⁹ Luigi Cavazzi, *La diaconia di S. M. in Via Lata e il monastero di S. Ciriaco*, Rome, 1908, p. 150; built under Cardinal Antonio Caraffa who was deacon from 1577 to 1583 (p. 406).

³⁰ Raffaele Ojetti, "Ottaviano Mascarino," *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia di S. Luca*, II, 1913, pp. 66 and 69, shows him to have been in Rome in 1576; the Vatican Sala Bolognese decoration that is attributed to him is dated 1575 (see p. 33, note 44). Mr. Jack Wasserman has found evidence for his presence in Rome somewhat earlier. Cf. p. 59, note 52 above.

³¹ See above, p. 33, note 44.

³² Ackerman, pp. 103 ff.

³³ Massimo Guidi, "Gli architetti del Palazzo del Quirinale," *L'Urbe*, VI, 4, 1941, pp. 2 ff., gives a summary of the complex history of the building. See also Christian Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, (4. Abhandlung der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften), Heidelberg, 1917, pp. 85 ff. Mr. Wasserman is preparing a study of the palace in the Cinquecento.

Some sort of work for the Pope on the Quirinal was already begun by Ligorio in 1560, a payment of ∇ 308 being recorded for "opere di Porte e finestre cha ha a fare nel giardino di Nostro Padre a Monte Cavallo. . ." (ASR-Fabbriche, 1521, fol. 5. For more of this work see Lanciani, III, p. 231). Guidi, p. 2, states that the tower was begun in the spring of 1583; work was already in progress by

The grave tabernacle of Vittoria Orsini in S.M. in Aracoeli, apparently to be dated 1582, has been convincingly attributed to Longhi by Grisebach.³⁴

In 1584 Longhi directed minor work at the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne.³⁵

By 1586 Longhi was architect of S.M. in Vallicella, the "Chiesa Nuova" of the Oratorians.³⁶ Filippo Neri's first architect was Matteo Bartolini da Città di Castello, who first planned a smaller church on the model of the Gesù. This was enlarged during the 1580's by expanding the original plan in all directions.³⁷ Longhi's façade project does not appear to be represented by the wooden model reproduced by Strong,³⁸ but its many Longhesque qualities point to a derivation from that source, as well as from Tuscan precedents.

Longhi was also associated with S. Filippo Neri in the first project for SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini; Neri was made custodian of the projected building in 1587, and the cornerstone of the new church designed by Longhi was laid early in that year. Nothing seems to have come of this beginning, and in 1603 we hear of a new design by Paolo Maggi.³⁹

1582 since a document of 21 January 1583 records a payment of ∇ 600 to *muratori* and ∇ 400 for stonework on the "fabbrica di monte Cavallo" (ASR-Fabbriche, 1526, fol. 8 v).

Baglione, p. 68: "In tempo di Gregorio xiii. . . (Longhi) operò nella parte del palazzo di monte Cavallo, dov'è la torre di venti."

³⁴ August Grisebach, *Römische Porträtbüsten der Gegenreformation*, Leipzig, 1936, p. 164 and Fig. 68. The literature had erroneously given it to Onorio. In style it fits perfectly into Longhi's works, and may be compared to the Cappella Altemps (cf. p. 89, note 45).

³⁵ Valerio Mariani, *Il palazzo Massimo alle Colonne*, Rome, n.d., p. 100, note 15: document of 17 August 1584.

³⁶ Louis Ponelle and Louis Bordet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times (1515-1595)*, London, 1932, pp. 410 ff.; cf. Eugenie Strong, *La Chiesa Nuova*, Rome (1923?), p. 62 and *passim*.

³⁷ Baglione, p. 68, says only that Longhi ". . . edificò il di dentro di detta fabrica, e vi fece un modello di facciata, che hora nelle stampe è rimasto; se bene poi la facciata fu fatta da Fausto Rughesi da Montepulciano, e con suo disegno, e modello nobilmente compita." Although still unclear in details, the basic history of the church is in Ponelle and Bordet, *op. cit.*, pp. 339 ff., 407 ff. After 1586 Longhi lowered the nave cornice and built the crossing, transepts, and choir. *Ibid.*, p. 417, show that some of the side chapels were decorated in 1580-81 by G. B. Dosio, who seems to have been Matteo da Città di Castello's successor as chief architect. Cf. p. 416, note 1, and *passim*, for the make-shift enlargements of the church plan as time went on; della Porta, Dosio, and Longhi all played a part in the design.

An *avviso* of 27 September 1586 says that Cardinal Cesi, dying ". . . lascia oltre allo scritto ∇ 8000. alli Preti della lavicella (sic) per finir la cuppola et l'altar grande della Chiesa loro" (*Urb. lat.* 1054, fol. 484). For the dome, see Adolfo Pernièr, "La cupola della Chiesa Nuova in Roma," *Atti del I° Congresso Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura*, Florence, 1938, pp. 107-11.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, Tav. VI. Ponelle and Bordet, *op. cit.*, p. 415, note, show that a façade project by Longhi existed in 1586. But these authors feel that the wooden model is Rughesi's, and they are certainly right. A preliminary drawing is in the Uffizi, no. 3179 A. Nevertheless, the many Longhesque features of the design point to the strong influence of Longhi's model. For the façade, see Ponelle and Bordet, pp. 414 f., and A. Bertolotti, "Costruzione della facciata della Vallicella," in F. Gori's *Archivio storico artistico archeologico e letterario della città e provincia di Roma*, IV, Spoleto, 1880, p. 228 (CIX).

³⁹ Egidio Fortini, *Descrizione della venerabile chiesa dedicata alla SSMA Trinità. . .*, Rome, 1853, gives a history of the church based on documents. The cornerstone of Longhi's church was laid on 26 February 1587; in 1616 Maggi's church was consecrated.

According to the Ferrerio print, the Palazzo Alessandrina (Bonelli – della Provincia) was built in 1585.⁴⁰ Plans by Longhi and others are preserved, and a new addition to the palace seems to have been begun in 1588.⁴² Longhi and Mascarino both drew projects for the palace on behalf of Filippo Boncompagni, “Cardinale di San Sisto.” The majority of these seem to have been Longhi’s, but the early history of the palace is still unclear.

We have seen that in 1586–87 Longhi was Cardinal Deza’s architect. The continuation of the Palazzo del Giglio was begun in 1586 (cf. Chapter 3 above). In 1587 Pope Sixtus V (1585–90) ordered Deza to commission a model for a new church dedicated to S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni, to which Deza had just been appointed titular Cardinal.⁴² This model must have been by Longhi, who built the new church in 1588–89.⁴³

Despite these works, the big commissions of 1580–90 went to della Porta, Domenico Fontana, and Mascarino. Sixtus V so clearly preferred Fontana that almost all of the Pope’s furious building activity was directed by him, and it has been difficult to discover what parts were played by the members of the large general staff who must have designed some of the work.⁴⁴ Perhaps because of the incredible building activity directed by Sixtus and Fontana combined, the Pope was forced in the case of S. Girolamo to put the burden on some other shoulders, and this appears to explain how Longhi got the commission. Contemporary with the church was a large chapel built for Cardinal Altemps in S. M. in Trastevere, inscribed 1589.⁴⁵ The design is essentially similar to the façade of S. Girolamo. Perhaps at this time Longhi was in fact part of the papal archi-

⁴⁰ Ferrerio, Plates 22 and 23; Ferrerio gives as architect “P. Domenico Pacanelli da Faenza matematico.” Cf. Golzio, p. 190.

⁴² Orbaan, p. 285. Even then the palace was left unfinished; the incomplete building visible on the Tempesta map shows a break in construction that can be seen clearly today. Cf. also the enlargement projects by Felice della Greca in *Vat. Chig.* P. VII 10, fols. 83–88.

⁴³ See above, p. 38, note 7. Sixtus V had himself been titular cardinal of the church before becoming Pope; one tradition even maintains that he was of Slavic stock.

⁴⁴ G. Biasiotti and J. Butkoviič, *S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni in Roma*, Rome, 1925, pp. 7 f. In addition to the documents quoted by Biasiotti and Butkoviič there is one in ASR-Fabbriche, 1528, fol. 56, listing payments to Longhi beginning 25 June 1588 and ending 16 April 1589 that total ∇ 20,500. A total of ∇ 22,176.67 is given in the documents in ASV, AA. Armadio B, 8, fols. 61 v f. The *misuratori* were Prospero Rocchi and Domenico Fontana. The façade is dated 1588 inside and out (Forcella, III, pp. 334 f., nos. 751 and 753). The attribution of the church to Giovanni Fontana, in whole or in part, is not borne out by the documents.

⁴⁵ In addition to Domenico Fontana’s brother Giovanni, the group included the Fontana’s nephew, Carlo Maderno, the *misuratore* Prospero Rocchi, and toward 1590 the young Girolamo Rainaldi; cf. note 46 below.

⁴⁶ Forcella, II, p. 349, no. 1078. Ascribed to Longhi by Baglione, but mistakenly given to Onorio by Titi, p. 49, and by Thieme-Becker, s.v. Onorio Longhi; Venturi, XI, 2, pp. 798 f., ascribed it to della Porta. Baglione, p. 68, says Longhi “. . . fece la nobile cappella del Santissimo Sacramento con sua Sagrestia per l’Eccellentissima Famiglia Altemps. . .” The confusion with Onorio arose because of the assertion (p. 157) that Onorio built “. . . la cappelletta, dove è il Battesimo. . .,” which is no longer there. The winter choir on the other side of the apse, begun in 1625, was freely modeled on Longhi’s chapel.

tectural staff, since he was active as a papal *misuratore* on the site of S. Andrea della Valle in 1590.⁴⁶

In 1590–91 Longhi apparently began the Cappella Olgiati in S. Prassede.⁴⁷ If so, it was his last independent work. A hint of Longhi's position as an architect toward the close of his career is given by a letter to Bologna from the Vatican that seems to have been sent in 1589.⁴⁸ The authorities of S. Petronio in Bologna had written Rome requesting the services of della Porta or Domenico Fontana. The reply stated that both were too occupied to come. The Roman writer consequently suggested Longhi as a worthy substitute for these men, citing the church of S. Girolamo that was then being completed. From this we can see that Longhi's reputation had not spread to the extent of Fontana's or della Porta's. He was, nevertheless, an architect of trusted competence. Whether he went to Bologna or not is unknown, but in the absence of other information we may presume not.

In addition to the works already listed are a number of others uncertain either as to date or authorship which must now be discussed. Baglione attributed to Longhi the church of S. M. della Consolazione with its high altar and unfinished façade.⁴⁹ The tribune may have been begun as early as 1581 by della Porta; the date 1585 appears within the choir.⁵⁰ At this time or soon after Longhi appears to have been given charge of the building. The body of the church itself is clearly older, although there may have been some rebuilding. The lower story of the façade seems to be his on the basis of style; it is also closely related to the Rughesi Chiesa Nuova façade model, and there is some reason to believe that

⁴⁶ Documents in ASR-Corporazioni religiose, *S. Andrea della Valle*, 2110, no. 21, fol. 7 v: 20 June 1590; and 2119, no. 39, which mentions measurements of the old church on the site by Mr. Prospero da Roccho, Mr. Gregorio, and Mr. Martino.

⁴⁷ The vault painting by the Cavaliere d'Arpino was supposedly begun in 1592 (Venturi, IX, 5, pp. 929–31). This is disputed by Hess, "Caravaggio, d'Arpino und Guido Reni," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, X, 1956, pp. 60 ff., who feels that Arpino's frescos belong to the late 1590's on the basis of style. Baglione, p. 370, discusses the frescos immediately before the works executed for Clement VIII, which would tend to support the old dating. Titi, pp. 273 f., says that "S. Carlo Borromeo . . . rifece auanti alla Chiesa il Portico con la facciata, rassetto d'ogni intorno le Naii di dentro, rinouò tutto il Choro, fece il Tabernacolo per il Santissimo, . . . e molt'altre cose con disegno di Martino Lunghi . . .".

⁴⁸ Giovanni Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti*. . . , III, Florence, 1840, p. 508. For the controversy of 1589 concerning the vaulting of S. Petronio, see Guido Zucchini, "Documenti inediti per la storia del S. Petronio di Bologna," *Miscellanea di storia dell'arte in onore di I. B. Supino*, Florence, 1933, pp. 200 ff., and *idem*, "Disegni inediti per S. Petronio di Bologna," *Palladio*, VI, 1942, pp. 153–166.

⁴⁹ The Anonymous 1660, fol. 122, attributes the whole church to Longhi, which is impossible. The upper half of the façade is dated 1827 (Forcella, VIII, p. 350, no. 838).

⁵⁰ Pietro Pericoli, *L'Ospedale di S. Maria della Consolazione di Roma*, Imola, 1829, pp. 84 ff. Forcella, VIII, p. 333, nos. 800–01, gives choir inscriptions of 1585; p. 334, no. 805 gives the date 1600 over the door of the interior façade.

Cecchelli, *Studi e documenti sulla Roma sacra* (Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria, II), Rome, 1951, p. 117, speaks of a *decreto* of 12 November 1581 that mentions della Porta in connection with the tribune. In 1583 the high altar was planned.

On the Bufalini map of 1551 the church is shown facing the other way, which might explain the need for a new apse.

the finished façade would have been of the same unusual type.⁵¹ The dates of Longhi's S. M. in Vallicella façade project and the Consolazione façade design may have been fairly close together, ca. 1586.

Another church built by Longhi was S. M. Maddelena delle Convertite on the Corso near the "Arch of Portugal," which was destroyed late in the eighteenth century.⁵² All of the old sources attribute the church to Longhi. Armellini, on unknown authority, stated that it was joined to the monastery of the same name in 1585. According to Milizia, only the lower order of the façade was ever built.⁵³

The lower story of the façade to S. M. in Via, which Baglione attributed to della Porta, has also been associated with Longhi.⁵⁴ The construction is shown underway on the 1593 Tempesta map. Despite Longhi's supposed connection with the church in documents, the executed façade shows nothing of his late style.⁵⁵

In 1585 the Bandini chapel in S. Silvestro al Quirinale was begun.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Cf. the façade design illustrated in Pietro Felini, *Trattato nuovo delle cose maravigliose . . .*, Rome, 1610, p. 161. Ottavio Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti nell'alma città de Roma*, Rome, 1600, p. 491: "... ha, da poco in quà, rifatta tutta questa chiesa." Girolamo Franzini, *Le cose maravigliose . . .*, Rome, 1600, p. 124, illustrates the church without its façade.

⁵² Mariano Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma del secolo IV. al XIX.*, ed. Cecchelli, I, Rome, 1942, p. 359. The church was begun during the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572-85; Pastor, IX, p. 893). Plans of the church and adjoining cloister are in ASR, *Disegni e mappe*, 85, no. 497. The façade is shown in a seventeenth century painting reproduced by Alessandro Bocca, *Il palazzo del Banco di Roma*, Rome, (1950), p. 18. Extensive topographical information is in Romano, I, pp. 111 ff. It is visible on the Tempesta map of 1593. The site is commemorated by the present Via delle Convertite.

⁵³ F. Milizia, *Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni*, II, Parma, 1781, p. 145. The Rome maps generally show the façade completed, but only part of the upper story is finished in the painting mentioned in note 52 above.

⁵⁴ Cecchelli, *S. M. in Via*, Rome, n. d., pp. 23 ff., states that documents show the façade to have been entrusted to Longhi in 1594 with construction completed in 1596, as far as it went (façade inscription 1596). If the date is correct, it confirms our suspicion that Longhi was not involved with the façade (cf. p. 83, note 3 above).

⁵⁵ Baglione, p. 81, says "Come altresì dicono esser del Porta l'incominciamento della bella facciata di S. Maria in Via." This "dicono" is a sign of doubt, as we have seen. According to the Anonymous 1660, fol. 129, the church is by Longhi. Körte did not accept the façade as a work by della Porta (in Thieme-Becker, s.v. della Porta). Titi, p. 383, said the whole church was built by Longhi in 1594. The upper story of the façade is by Carlo Rainaldi; Guglielmo Matthiae, "Contributo a Carlo Rainaldi," *Arti figurative*, II, 1946, p. 59, note 23, claims that Rainaldi may also have changed or rebuilt the lower order as well. This possibility should be given serious consideration since the attribution to della Porta seems as unlikely as that to Longhi. Although his name has never been mentioned in connection with the church, the façade has more similarity to façades by Francesco da Volterra than to those by Longhi or della Porta, but the relationship between portal and pilaster order is different from his authentic works. Another architect, Carlo Lambardi (cf. p. 48, note 22 above) had a house near by and built his own chapel within the church, but the façade has no stylistic similarity to his known works. F. Fasolo, *L'Opera di Hieronimo e Carlo Rainaldi*, Rome, 1961, p. 75 and *passim*, now shows the architect to have been Francesco da Volterra, succeeded by Lambardi.

⁵⁶ Leo Bruhns, "Das Motiv der ewigen Anbetung in der römischen Grabplastik des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, IV, 1940, p. 317: built for Pietro Antonio Bandini († 1588). The chapel has similarities with Francesco da Volterra's destroyed Cappella Rustici in S. M. sopra Minerva, a drawing for which is illustrated in Eric Langenskiöld, "Italienska arkitekturritningar i Cronstedtssamlingen på Nationalmuseum," *Nationalmusei Arsbok*, XVI, 1946, Fig. 43, dated 1586.

Drawings are preserved in the Accademia di S. Luca that have been attributed to Longhi but are more probably by Mascarino.⁵⁷

Baglione tells us that Martino designed the ciborium for S. Bartolomeo all'Isola, using four porphyry columns. Longhi designed this for Cardinal Santori, who was titular cardinal of the church from 1570-95.⁵⁸ His work was apparently executed in 1584-85, but it is no longer in place.

Two other works done for Cardinal Santori have been attributed to Longhi. Baglione says Santori's palace at Montecitorio was built by him, and that palace seems still to have been standing opposite Bernini's unfinished Palazzo Montecitorio in 1660.⁵⁹ The other work, S. Atanasio dei Greci, was attributed by Baglione to della Porta. Later writers gave it now to Longhi, now to della Porta, while a recent study attributed it in part to Francesco da Volterra.⁶⁰ It is quite certainly not by Longhi.

Baglione also attributed to Longhi the "Tempietto alla Villa degli Olgiati," which has not survived; the villa involved was apparently east of the Baths of Diocletian. Caravatti stated that the campanile and atrium of S. Stefano in Viggìù were built by Longhi.⁶¹

Longhi made his testament in 1591 and died in Rome on 11 June of that year.⁶² The *Stato d'anime* for SS. Apostoli of 1596 still lists his wife Elisabetta Olgiata and his three sons as living in the family house on the Piazza SS. Apostoli.⁶³ An inscription placed by his widow and children in the choir of S. Pietro in Montorio gave him this epitaph:

⁵⁷ Golzio, pp. 174 ff. The attribution to Onorio Longhi in Titi, p. 320, was apparently based on a misunderstanding of Baglione, p. 156, who attributed the little Sannesì chapel in the same church to Onorio. Cf. Bruhns, *op. cit.*, p. 317 and note 78.

⁵⁸ Proia-Romano, *Ripa*, pp. 112 ff., speak of important works of restoration in the church documented in the Vatican archives. In his autobiography, Santori mentions restorations carried out in 1584-85 (G. Cugnoli, "Autobiografia di Monsignor G. Antonio Santori Cardinale di S. Severina," ASRSP, XIII, 1890, pp. 160 and 168 f.). *Le cose maravigliose*, Rome, 1595, p. 17, speaks of a high altar with four porphyry columns.

⁵⁹ It was mentioned as being there in the Anonymous 1660, fol. 31, but was destroyed during the course of construction; cf. F. Cerasoli, "Notizie circa la sistemazione di molte strade di Roma nel sec. xvi," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, XXVIII, 1900, p. 329. According to his autobiography, Santori took the palace late in 1574 (*op. cit.*, XII, p. 358; more information of 1584 is found in *ibid.*, XIII, pp. 170 and 198 f.). According to the "Elenco" of 1601 published by Tomei (p. 220, no. 49), "Parte è vecchia, parte è nuova. . ." It appears on the 1593 Tempesta map as "MONS CITORIUS P. CARD. S. SEVER." A list of owners is in Schiavo, *op. cit.*, p. 247, note 1. Further, cf. Orbaan, p. 119 and note 1, and D. Angeli, *Il palazzo di Montecitorio*, Rome, 1926, p. 5.

⁶⁰ M. Zocca, "L'Architetto di S. Giacomo in Augusta," *Bollettino d'arte*, XXIX, 1936, pp. 527 ff.

⁶¹ Caravatti, p. 90, with illustration, p. 91.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 88, note 1. For his death date see p. 83, note 3 above.

⁶³ See above p. 84, note 7. Longhi's wife is listed as aged forty, with sons Honorius twenty-six, Decius twenty-four and Antonius twenty-two. The house is apparently the one shown on a drawing in the Accademia di S. Luca (Golzio no. 40) dated 1587.

CHRISTO SERVATORI
 MARTINO LONGO MED. ORIVNDO
 CIVI ROM. ARCHITECTO EXIMIO
 IN IPSO VIRTVTIS CONATV EXTINCTO
 HONORIVS DECIVS ANTONIVS ET
 LEONORA FILII PATRI OPTIMO
 HELISABETH OLGIAATA NOVOCOM.
 CONIVGI CHARISS. POSVERVNT⁶⁴

In addition to the four children mentioned in the inscription he seems to have had two other daughters who died young.⁶⁵

The only personal glimpse of the Longhi family comes from a memoir of Giovanni Pietro Caffarelli written ca. 1606; unfortunately it is known only in a German summary published in 1851.⁶⁶ Caffarelli, who knew the family fairly well, spoke of Longhi as the leading architect of his time along with della Porta and Matteo da Castello (!). Most of the information concerns the sons, all of whom had university degrees. The writer considered Onorio very talented, and said that he was so much more learned than his father that he put him to shame.

⁶⁴ Forcella, V, p. 277, no. 778. Forcella dated the inscription 1657, and ascribed it to Martino Longhi il Giovane, Onorio's son. But the younger Martino died in December 1660 in Viggiù according to the parochial archives (Caravatti, p. 93, note 1: 18 December; on p. 29, note 1, he says Martino died on the 15th and was buried on the 6th [sic.]. The inscription transmitted by Forcella must, therefore, be earlier, and it fits perfectly with the information in the SS. Apostoli *Stato d'anime* (cf. p. 84, note 6 and note 63 above). Both Bertolotti and Caravatti realized that the inscription referred to Martino il Vecchio.

⁶⁵ Caravatti, p. 172, gives an epitaph in S. Martino of Viggiù, dated 1585: VOTUM SORORIS SUAE HELISABETH P. SOLVERE LEONORA ET SUSANNA DE LONGIS.

⁶⁶ "Rt.," "Martino Longhi und seine Familie," *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, II, 1851, pp. 30-31.



APPENDIX II



APPENDIX II

BIOGRAPHY OF FLAMINIO PONZIO

Unlike the work of Martino Longhi il Vecchio, that of Flaminio Ponzio has been studied to some extent in modern times: both Johannes Mandl and Luigi Crema have examined his career.¹ Like Longhi, Ponzio was "Milanese," but his place of birth has been unknown. As it happens, Ponzio, like Longhi, was from Viggiù: a papal order of payment for the Villa Torlonia in Frascati, dated 14 December 1609, speaks of "... Flaminus Pontius de Viggiù. . ." ² It seems likely, therefore, that Ponzio came to Rome and learned the trade of architect from his compatriot.

The exact date of his birth is unknown; on 21 August 1596 he swore he was thirty-six,³ which would put his birth in the years 1559-60. He was thus a younger member of the generation of architects that included Carlo Lambardi (born 1554) and Carlo Maderno (born 1556), and a decade older than Onorio Longhi (born 1569) and Girolamo Rainaldi (born 1570). All of these men outlived him.

It is not known when he came to Rome; the first notice of him that has so far come to light dates from 1585, when he was architect of the Villa D'Este in Tivoli.⁴ In 1591 he was a *misuratore* at S. Andrea della Valle.^{4a} By then he must have been well established, for among the founding members of the Accademia di S. Luca on 14 November 1593 was an architect "Flaminio. . ." who can only have been Ponzio.⁵

In 1597 Ponzio was called in as an expert to review the building expenses for S. Giovanni in Laterano and other papal works of 1590-94.⁶ According to

¹ Mandl in Thieme-Becker, *s.v.* Ponzio; Crema, "Flaminio Ponzio architetto milanese a Roma," *Atti del IV Convegno Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura*, Milan, 1939, pp. 281-308 (henceforth: "Crema").

² AB-336, no. 65, 37. Ponzio's origin can be deduced from Caravatti, p. 24, where it is reported that on 12 May 1598 the "Congregazione della Venerabile Com.^a del S. Corpus Domini de Viggiù" met in Rome, and that "M. Flaminio Poncia" was listed among the brothers. Among the others were the sculptor Silla Longhi, who was the customary host of the clan, and the various *Judici*, some of whom appear as *scarpellini* in our building documents.

³ Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi a Roma. . .*, I, Milan, 1881, p. 99, where he referred to himself as an architect and *misuratore*. Baglione, p. 136, says he died aged forty-five, which would make him eight years younger.

⁴ David R. Coffin, *The Villa D'Este at Tivoli*, Princeton, 1960, p. 101 and note 21. Mr. Jack Wasserman has found notices of Ponzio in the late 1580's at S. Susanna and elsewhere.

^{4a} ASR-Corporazioni religiose, *S. Andrea della Valle*, 2161, 159 (58), fol. 37, 7 October 1591. Bertolotti, *op. cit.*, p. 99, mentions a document of 5 December 1593 that indicates that Ponzio was then directing work on the campanile of S. Martino ai Monti.

⁵ Romano Alberti, *Origine, et progresso dell'Accademia del Dissegno. . . di Roma*, Pavia, 1604, p. 2 and Appendix (p. 86).

⁶ ASR-GT, 21, 28 October 1597.

Mandl he was made architect of the Acqua Vergine by Clement VIII.⁷ On 6 November 1598 he appeared as an expert called in to settle a disagreement.⁸ In 1600 we have seen that he was employed by Cardinal Deza to evaluate some houses for purchase (Doc. 10). In 1601 he served as a professional reference for the sculptor Guglielmo Mido.⁹

The first known work of any importance executed by Ponzio was his own house on the Via Alessandrina, inscribed 1600 (Fig. 76).¹⁰ From this it appears that Ponzio at the age of forty was a successful architect and it is strange that we have no major works to point to before this date.

It is the merit of Crema's article to have underlined Ponzio's work in the rebuilding of S. Eligio degli Orefici beginning in 1602.¹¹ For many years he served the Università degli Orefici as its consultant architect, and he probably designed the façade of the church, which was executed after his death.

Another work of 1602, now totally rebuilt, was the Cappella S. Diego in S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli (N. S. del Sacro Cuore) built for the Herrera family.¹²

Ponzio emerged as an architect of real importance only in 1605 when he became architect to Paul V (cf. p. 46, note 11 above). This was not necessarily a creative position: Giovanni Fontana had held the post during the preceding pontificate when the papal buildings were actually designed by Giacomo della Porta († 1602). Nor was the position as important as that of architect of St. Peter's, which was won by Carlo Maderno. Nevertheless, owing to the great building activity of Paul V and his nephew Scipione, the job became one of significance, and Ponzio appears to have been the architect of most of the papal works executed between 1605 and his death early in 1613. How he happened to be preferred to Carlo Lambardi and Girolamo Rainaldi for this position is not wholly clear; it may be that Paul V inherited him with the Palazzo Deza and favored him out of friendship. Of the other likely candidates for the post Giovanni Fontana may have been considered too old (it happens that he outlived Ponzio), Onorio Longhi was disreputable, and Maderno was occupied at St. Peter's and with his important private practice.

After his consecration in May, Paul V wasted little time in launching an impressive building program. Significantly, the first of these projects announced the new Pope's intention to rival his vigorous predecessor, Sixtus V. Opposite the Cappella Sistina in S. M. Maggiore a new and even richer chapel was planned, with Ponzio as the architect. Within three months after his election a fund of

⁷ Borne out by Carlo Fea, *Storia delle acque antiche . . .*, Rome, 1832, p. 22.

⁸ ASR-GT, 26, no. 17, for a house near S. Silvestro in Capite.

⁹ Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italie*, III, The Hague, 1917, pp. 623-24.

¹⁰ The house was pulled down and is now rebuilt on the Piazza Campitelli, next to Carlo Fontana's rebuilt S. Rita; cf. Crema, pp. 286 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 281, 289-93, with a discussion of the related church of S. M. di Grottapinta. (Cf. also Francesco Sanguinetti, "Il restauro di S. Eligio degli Orefici," *Palladio*, V, 1955, pp. 184, note 1, and 185).

¹² Cecchelli, "San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli," *Roma*, XIV, 1936, pp. 330 ff.

∇ 2000 per month was provided for the great chapel.¹³ The first wall measurements are dated 17 September.¹⁴ Ponzio's first signature on a document for the construction is dated 15 October 1605; over twenty more documents bear his name between then and 1611.¹⁵ At the same time there was built a new sacristy and chapter house, the old ones having been displaced by the new chapel. Work progressed on both projects simultaneously, and the documents do not make clear at what time any particular piece of work was finished.¹⁶ Stone continued to be measured for work without and within in 1611.¹⁷ Extensive gilding began late in 1610,¹⁸ the pavement was measured in April 1612,¹⁹ and the glass installed in the windows in May.²⁰ Woodwork for the chapel, partially furnished by Giovanni Battista Soria, was evaluated in 1614-15.²¹ Documents not signed by Ponzio were signed by his executive assistants Bernardino Valperga, whom we have already met, and Giovanni Maria Bonazzini, who may have been a brother-in-law.²² In addition to the work actually executed, Ponzio apparently planned to remodel the entire exterior in the style of the chapel and sacristy façades; the project is recorded only in the ground plan of 1621 published by de Angelis.²³

Despite the tremendous amount of work involved in beginning the chapel at S. M. Maggiore, Ponzio must have drawn up plans for the extension of the Palazzo Borghese in 1605. He was probably familiar with Longhi's plans which he may have followed to some extent.

In July 1606 Ponzio journeyed to the Castello di Rota near Civitavecchia to review the cost of extensive building operations there.²⁴ This is only the first of a succession of minor works inside and out of Rome that Ponzio and his assistants supervised, and in many cases the design was doubtless Ponzio's.

As early as 1607 the Borghese became interested in the Palazzo Campeggi (Giraud-Torlonia) in Borgo.²⁵ In September 1608 masonry work was measured

¹³ ASR-Fabbriche, 1538, 13 August 1605, etc.

¹⁴ ASR-GT, 32 (1605,3).

¹⁵ ASR-Fabbriche, 1541, II, III, contain the bills signed by Ponzio, many of which were for the new sacristy. The construction of the chapel can be followed in Fabbriche, 1538, 41, and GT, 26, 32-43. Cf. Pastor, XII, pp. 602 ff.

¹⁶ The lintels of the sacristy doors carry the date 1605, but this is in commemoration of Paul's election; the same date appears in the Cappella Paolina.

¹⁷ ASR-GT, 36, 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 35, 10.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 37, 3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 34, 16 May.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 40, 4, 8 November 1614 and 12 December 1615. These documents record the succession of Soria to prominence in his first profession after the death of Vittorio Ronconi, whom he had apparently assisted.

²² Cf. Crema, p. 291.

²³ Paolo de Angelis, *Basilicae S. Mariae Majoris*. . ., Rome, 1621, opp. p. 94.

²⁴ ASR-GT, 33, 15 July 1606. Ponzio's statement on the bill is typical: "Io Flaminio Ponzio Architetto della Santità di Nostro Signore Dicho essere stato all luogho dove si fatto detta fabricha et Considerato alle sue circostanzi li sudetti Prezzi sono Convenienti di maniera che la Reverenda Camera Apostolica non viene a essere Agravata."

²⁵ AB-310, no. 200, 17 February 1607: *Instrumento di procura*. . .

by Pomis,²⁶ but the palace was officially sold to Scipione only in July 1609.²⁷

In November 1608 new granaries were built near S. M. degli Angeli,²⁸ and in October 1609 Ponzio supervised minor repairs in the old Borghese chapel in SS. Trinità dei Monti.²⁹ In June 1610 fountain work was done in the Villa Giulia.³⁰

At some time early in the century Ponzio submitted a tabernacle design for S. M. presso S. Celso in Milan for which he was paid ∇ 6.30.³¹

Meanwhile, Ponzio entered the competition for the completion of St. Peter's, which was won by Maderno.³² On the death of Cardinal Baronio (30 June 1607) Scipione Borghese succeeded to the Abbacy of S. Gregorio Magno al Celio, and continued work on the little chapels situated a few steps north of the church. The left hand chapel of S. Barbara seems to have been wholly finished and decorated under Baronio, but the other two were completed by Ponzio for Scipione, and their window frames bear the Borghese crest. Stonework for these two chapels was measured by Ponzio in November of 1607,³³ while the gate on the Clivio di Scauro was measured in April of the following year.³⁴ This was the first of Ponzio's designs for Scipione, who at this time began an extensive building program of his own with Ponzio as his architect.

Work at the supposed tombs of Peter and Paul behind S. Sebastiano f.l.m. began in March of 1608 and the rebuilding of the church itself began in 1609 under Ponzio's direction.³⁵ In January 1613 stone was measured for the façade and for the now destroyed gate on the Via Appia.³⁶

On 15 June 1607 Scipione purchased the old villa of Annibale Caro at Frascati (Villa Torlonia) and by August 1608 new construction was underway.³⁷

²⁶ ASR-GT, 34, 18 September 1608.

²⁷ AB-306, no. 34, 3 and 13 July 1609. Considerable work was done in the palace by the Borghese (documents of 1610-23 are in AB-4174), and it was sold only in 1635, after Scipione's death, to the Marchese Campeggio, for ∇ 17,000 (AB-309, no. 151).

²⁸ ASR-GT, 34, 8 November 1608: Muro "... all'Granaro novo che fa fare... Paolo Quinto ... alle Terme Diocletiane contiguo alli granari vechi..." signed by Bonazzini and Giulio Buratti.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 3 October 1609. More work is recorded on 19 December 1611 (AB-4174).

³⁰ ASR-GT, 35, 1 June 1610. Work supervised by Valperga and Pomis.

³¹ Costantino Baroni, *Documenti per la storia dell'architettura a Milano nel rinascimento e nel barocco*, I, 1, Florence, 1940, p. 279, nos. 369-70. Ponzio is in one instance listed as papal architect, which would seem to make the date after 1605; but on p. 278 the date 30 March 1602 is cited.

³² Caffisch, p. 19. Of the losing entries, only Cigoli's projects in the Uffizi have so far been recognized.

³³ AB-4174, 28 November.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 15 April 1608.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 27 March 1608 and on. Work began in the new choir in April 1609 and progressed toward the Via Appia; see Hoogewerff, "Giovanni Vansanzio. . .," *Palladio*, VI, 1942, p. 51; cf. also p. 68, note 26 and p. 69, note 32 above, and G. Mancini and B. Pesci, *San Sebastiano f.l.m.*, Rome, (1959).

³⁶ AB-4174, 10 and 18 January 1613. The gate is illustrated by G. Vasi, *Delle magnificenze di Roma. . .*, III, Rome, 1753, Plate XLVI.

³⁷ C. Franck, *Die Barockvillen in Frascati*, Munich/Berlin, 1956, pp. 74 ff., and my comments in *The Art Bulletin*, XL, 1958, p. 357.

In May of 1609 a stone measurement is signed "Ponzio Architetto."³⁸ In this period he executed the garden beside the casino, the cascade on the hill opposite with its reservoir and pool (but not the row of niche fountains), and the fountain on the bastion before the casino. Between 1610-13 the Villa Grazioli in Frascati also became Borghese property and Mandl attributed to Ponzio the large terraces, finished in 1612.³⁹

In 1608 Ponzio began extensive activity in the service of the Acqua Paola.⁴⁰ The hydraulic work was undoubtedly under the supervision of the experienced Giovanni Fontana, whose signature appears on almost every document until his death. The *mostra* of the Acqua Paola in the Janiculum was begun on 30 August 1610 and measurements continued until 17 June 1614.⁴¹ Baglione attributed the fountain to Fontana,⁴² but the Anonymous 1660, who had recourse to papal documents, says that the fountain was by Fontana and Ponzio.⁴³ Modern writers appear to have accepted Bernini's judgement on the old engineer,⁴⁴ and have attributed the design to Maderno on the basis of style.⁴⁵ Most recently it has been attributed to Ponzio, and in my view this is correct.⁴⁶

Beginning in 1607, Scipione gradually acquired the territory outside the Porta Pinciana which was to become the Villa Borghese.⁴⁷ In August 1608 marble was carted to the site, where it was priced by Ponzio.⁴⁸ By July 1609 the large

³⁸ AB-4174, 9 August 1608 and 12 May 1609. Another measurement took place on 27 February 1610 with a similar signature by Ponzio, who signed two more measurements that year. Work on the balustrade before the villa was measured only on 29 May 1613; a year later the property was sold to Altemps.

³⁹ In Thieme-Becker (*s. v.* Ponzio).

⁴⁰ ASR, *Presidensa Acquedotti Urbani*, 43, Affari Diversi (1607-1675). Ponzio signed at least twenty-five documents for the Acqua Paola for work begun on 13 October 1608 and continuing until his death.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 1 ff. The *soprastanti* were Domenico Castelli and Alegrante Fontana, but the documents were also signed by Giovanni Fontana, Ponzio, and Bonazzini.

⁴² Baglione, p. 131.

⁴³ Anonymous 1660, fol. 37.

⁴⁴ Chantelou, *Journal du voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France*, ed. Lalanne, Paris, 1885, p. 173. As a boy Bernini had seen Fontana working at St. Peter's, and said of him to Chantelou "... qu'avant de se mêler de l'architecture, il avait été un bon *capomuratore* et que lui, le Cavalier, étant jeune et voyant travailler à cet ouvrage, ce bonhomme, qui n'avait d'ailleurs point d'invention, mais qui avait une grande expérience de la maçonnerie, allait toujours, disant aux ouvriers: *Figlioli, lavorate in calze sottile...*"

⁴⁵ E.g., Cafilisch, p. 112. Maderno's name is not connected with a single document for the Acqua Paola.

⁴⁶ Cesare d'Onofrio, *Le fontane di Roma*, Rome, 1957, pp. 146 ff., and especially note 25. D'Onofrio could have made his case stronger had he realized that Ponzio had been co-architect of the whole aqueduct (cf. note 40 above) and that documents not signed by Ponzio between 1608-13 were usually signed by his assistants, Battisti or Bonazzini; cf. p. 69, note 33 above for the result of this confusion between architect and *misuratore*.

⁴⁷ Friedrich Noack, "Kunstpflege und Kunstbesitz der Familie Borghese," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, L, 1929, pp. 204 f., and Maurizio Sacripanti, *La Villa Borghese in Roma*, Rome, 1953, pp. 13 ff., 73 ff., and *passim*. A documented monograph on the architecture and decoration of the Villa is still needed.

⁴⁸ AB-1030, 2 August 1608.

entrance *portone* was under way and the two sets of arms were carved. (Fig. 69).⁴⁹ In November the big gate, two smaller ones, and several other works were measured by Ponzio and Pomis.⁵⁰ In April of 1613 a large number of works were measured including new portals and gardens.⁵¹ The first part of the new casino was measured on 27 November 1613 and it is a question whether Ponzio could have played any significant part in its design.⁵²

In 1611 Ponzio began work at Scipione's garden on the Quirinal, now the Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini.⁵³ He was associated there with Maderno and Van Zanten, and although in the early period he seems to have been the supervisory architect, no existing part of the complex can be securely attributed to him except for the gateway illustrated in Fig. 70.

In addition to the designs for Scipione, Ponzio was responsible for extensions to the papal palaces at the Vatican and on the Quirinal, the latter having been Paul V's preferred residence. Minor works at the Quirinal began in 1605, but only in January 1609 did big payments begin for the "nuova fabbrica,"⁵⁴ and high payments continued throughout that year and the next for "scale e sale." In 1612-13 he built the portal at the head of the Via della Panetteria.⁵⁵ Ponzio was apparently responsible for the northeast wing with its double stair, and for the interior, including the small chapel with its oval dome and the great hall.⁵⁶

At the Vatican a tremendous amount of minor work was carried out beginning as early as October 1605.⁵⁷ By 1608 a new wing was added to the Cortile del Belvedere⁵⁸ and decorated by Guido Reni, whose bills were approved by Ponzio.⁵⁹

In 1610 Scipione was made Archbishop of Bologna, and on 5 November 1611 Ponzio and Maderno were both in that city with plans and instructions for the completion of the cathedral church, S. Pietro.⁶⁰ Their plan and a façade

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 2 July 1609.

⁵⁰ AB-4174, 5 November 1609.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, u. April 1613.

⁵² *Ibid.* Mandl (in Thieme-Becker, *s.v.* Ponzio) claimed that the building was begun in the autumn of 1612 and that the groundplan and whole idea was Ponzio's. This seems to have been based on a misunderstanding; although the first plans may well have been made before Ponzio's death, the first *misura* of November 1613 points to Van Zanten as the executant architect and the decorative detail is his alone; further, cf. p. 69, note 33 above.

⁵³ See my forthcoming article on the palace for details.

⁵⁴ ASR-Fabbriche, 1537, fol. 61, 2 January 1609.

⁵⁵ ASR-GT, 38, no. 11, 22 August 1612-7 February 1613. The gate is already shown in place in the Maggi print of 1612.

⁵⁶ Guidi, "Gli architetti del palazzo del Quirinale," *L'Urbe*, VI, 4, 1941, pp. 2-8; cf. p. 69, note 33. Ponzio was in part guided by Mascarino's plans, which are now preserved in the Accademia di S. Luca.

⁵⁷ ASR-GT, 31 (1605, 2), fol. 1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 34, fol. 1, 31 March 1608: "Nella fabbrica nova alla Panataria," signed by Ponzio 12 January 1609 as "Architetto Generale di Sua Santità mano propria." This work included the Sala delle Dame, whose decoration Caffisch attributed to Maderno (cf. p. 71, note 41 above).

⁵⁹ ASR-GT, 31, 25 July 1609. Payments began on 14 August 1608, the last being of 26 September 1609. Cf. Ackerman, pp. 113-114.

⁶⁰ Caffisch, pp. 56-59.

project were illustrated by Caffisch, but an alternate project for the upper story of the façade remains unpublished. The façade drawings are probably joint works, but in general the style seems to be Ponzio's rather than Maderno's.

In 1612, as we have seen, plans were drawn up for the Ripetta end of the Palazzo Borghese. Ponzio surely played some part in this project although his role is still obscure.

Contrary to the situation facing the biographer of Martino Longhi, the writer on Ponzio finds more dates than buildings, and we have omitted various minor matters to which Ponzio's name was attached. There remain a few works of uncertain date to be discussed. Ponzio designed a house for the Cavaliere d'Arpino on the Corso, near the Piazza del Popolo, now reconstructed.⁶¹ A more important palace attributed to Ponzio is the Palazzo Sciarra-Colonna,⁶² although the portal is usually given to another.⁶³ Baglione says that Ponzio worked in the palace and finished the façade with its cornice. The attribution of the portal to the sixteenth century artist Antonio Labacco has more basis than Crema was willing to believe; the frontispiece to Labacco's *Libro . . . appartenente al architettura*. . . (Rome, 1559) carries a similar portal in the form of a gate.⁶⁴ Its execution could have been by Ponzio, however, and there are affinities with his own house of 1600.

Ponzio was married to a Caterina Bonazzini, who lived until 1649.⁶⁵ One of his sons was released after a charge of sodomy in 1610;⁶⁶ another son, Francesco, was ten years old in 1612.⁶⁷ A Giuseppe Ponzio living "ai Pantani" is recorded in 1617.⁶⁸ Ponzio himself apparently died on 30 March 1613 since he was buried in the church of S. M. in Campo Carleo the following day.⁶⁹ His heirs were awarded ∇ 42 from the Quirinal palace works;⁷⁰ during his lifetime he had been paid ∇ 30 per month as papal architect.⁷¹

⁶¹ Baglione, p. 135; Crema, p. 297; Romano, II, p. 47. It appears clearly as no. 393 in the Falda map of 1675, and is partly shown on Israël Sylvestre's view of Rome from the Pincian, of 1687, where it is identified, and numbered 52. It is now the Palazzo Rondanini-Sanseverino; cf. Rossini, *Il mercurio errante*, I, Rome, 1776, pp. 411 f.

⁶² Baglione, p. 135.

⁶³ See the discussion in Crema, pp. 284-86. The Anonymous 1660, fol. 39, attributed the whole palace to Orazio Turriani. G. Vasi, *Delle magnificenze di Roma*. . . , IV, 1754, Plate 67 and p. xxi, says the façade and palace are by Ponzio, the portal by Vignola (!).

⁶⁴ That the portal was taken from Labacco was already recognized by Falda, Plate 37, although he attributed the palace itself to Martino Longhi il Vecchio.

⁶⁵ Crema, p. 284.

⁶⁶ *Avviso* of 17 July 1610 (Orbaan, p. 175).

⁶⁷ Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi*. . . , II, p. 10.

⁶⁸ Crema, p. 284.

⁶⁹ *Vat. lat.* 7875, fol. 151: "1613. 31. Martii Sep. Flaminius Pontius Architectus Summi Pontificis par. S. Maria in Campo Carleo" (from S. Prassede). The house for the sisters of this church was supposedly built by Ponzio, but all is now destroyed. Vasi's print of 1756 shows the church and its dependencies, with Ponzio's house in the background. If the neighboring S. Urbano ai Pantani was rebuilt in 1600, it is conceivable on the basis of style that Ponzio was the architect; it, too, is now destroyed.

⁷⁰ ASR-GT, 38, no. 11.

⁷¹ According to Mandl in Thieme-Becker. Crema, p. 282, gives a document that indicates

Ponzio seems to have had a warm and agreeable personality. Baglione said of him: "Dispiacque la morte di questo virtuoso a tutti, poich'era di buona natura, & assai conversevole, & amava tutti quelli, che in ogni sorte di professione erano famosi . . . & è degno d'ogni lode." ⁷⁸

that he got ∇ 30 for two months; cf. Orbaan, pp. 298-99. Under Clement VIII, Giovanni Fontana had received only ∇ 4.50 per month in the same position (ASR-GT, 25, no. 24).

⁷⁸ Baglione, pp. 135-36.

DOCUMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The documents upon which this work is based were drawn chiefly from the *Archivio Borghese* (AB), a private collection of over 8000 volumes on deposit in the Vatican Archives.¹ The excerpts printed in this section comprise only a fraction of the contents of these documents. More obvious aspects of the construction are mentioned only in passing in order to reduce the quantity of documentation; more problematic or destroyed sections of the palace have been given fuller treatment.

The bulk of the building documents for the palace have been arranged in a roughly chronological order and bound together as AB-4168. These documents are usually paginated, with numbers running from the first page of each document; such page numbers appear in the left margin of the transcriptions. The other important source for palace documents is AB-306, a collection of numbered folders of which each contains one or more deeds or documents. Thus "AB-306, no. 14, 8" would refer to item no. 8 within folder 14 of the volume.

Other documents were taken from the Vatican Archives proper (ASV). The *avvisi* for the Borghese period have been published by Orbaan. Owing to the paucity of primary documents I have been more dependent upon the *avvisi* for the earlier period; unfortunately, published collections of *avvisi* are inadequate for the sixteenth century, and my own research in the *avvisi* was not exhaustive. Death dates were taken from Pietro Luigi Galletti's *Necrologio romano* (*Vat. lat.* 7871-7879), while personal information about the Longhi family was derived from the Vatican Archivio del Vicariato. These documents are cited in the notes.

A few documents of importance are from the Archivio di Stato in Rome (ASR).² Those quoted in this section are from the notarial archives *Archivio del Collegio de' Notari Capitolini* and *Archivio del Tribunale del Collegio de' Notari Capitolini*.³ Collateral material has been drawn from *Camerale I, Fabbriche* (ASR-Fabbriche), *Giustificazioni di Tesoreria* (ASR-GT), and others, all of which are mentioned in the notes. Some documents are merely cited in the notes, while others are quoted in part to prove a point or add information. Only documents that provide essential information for the construction of the palace will be found in this section, in chronological order.

The records transcribed here are usually *misure e stime*: measurements of executed work and the estimates of its worth. According to Bernini there were three ways to hire workers: by day, by contract, or by piecework.⁴ He preferred day labor and considered work by contract the worst method of executing a building. This opinion seems to have been shared by the Borghese architects since a contract of 30 October 1612 specifically

¹ In the Vatican Archive there is a useful *Inventario* of the Archivio Borghese (Indice 721).

² See A. Lodolini, *L'Archivio di Stato in Roma e l'Archivio del Regno d'Italia* (Bibliothèque des "Annales Institutorum," II), Rome, 1932. The ASR has manuscript inventories for the major archives.

³ Cf. Achille François, *Elenco di notari che rogarono atti in Roma dal secolo XIV all'anno 1886*, Rome, 1886. Further, Carmelo Traselli, "Note sugli atti del tribunale civile del senatore di Roma nel secolo xv," *Archivi*, III, 1936, pp. 90-109.

⁴ Paul Fréart, Sieur de Chantelou, *Journal du voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France*, ed. Lalanne, Paris, 1885, p. 137: "a giornate, a cottimo, overo stima."

states that the master stonemasons were forbidden to let out any work by contract and that all should be done by day labor.⁵

In the *misure e stime* the *misuratore* (or *stimatore*) reviewed the cost estimates and then gave a total figure, generally lower than the estimates, that he considered a just sum (cf. p. 47, note 14). These documents are the most precise of the various records preserved. The workmen employed were chiefly *muratori*, *scarpellini*, and *falegnami*. The *scarpellini* (properly *scalpellini*) are stonemasons. These craftsmen must be distinguished from the *muratori* (literally "wallers") who built in brick and stone. The latter, whom we shall call masons, set in place the stone cut by the *scarpellini* and executed work in stucco as well. Since a building like the Palazzo Borghese used cut stone chiefly for exterior details, the *scarpellini* are less prominent in the documents. A *scarpellino* executed architectural ornament and did decorative sculpture for buildings as well as more routine work. The *falegnami* are carpenters and cabinet makers.

The name of the signatory architect or *misuratore*, if any, is appended to the documents here transcribed. This man is not necessarily the designing architect, and contrary to Hoogewerff's assertion,⁶ the architect in this period did not by any means sign all of the *misure e stime* of the master *scarpellini*. Often the signers were no more than *misuratori* (see p. 70, note 33 above). When more than two architects signed a building document, however, one of them was probably the architect in charge and often the designer. In such cases the signers were two *misuratori* and one (or even two) architects. Unfortunately, however, the supervising architect is not necessarily the designer of any particular part of the construction; as the evidence accumulates we are becoming more and more aware that architectural design in this period was often a cooperative affair. In addition to these signatures, building documents often have other names attached to them—those of the papal paymaster, the family majordomo, or the like. These names have not been printed here.

The measurements employed are the following:

palmi romani (p.): 1 = 0.223 meters
canne (ca.): 1 = 2.234 meters⁷
 (10 *palmi* = 1 *canna*).

Payments were made in *scudi* (*ducati*) and *baiocchi* (100 *baiocchi* = 1 *scudo*). These are here written in the form "∇ 999.99" (*scudi* 999, *baiocchi* 99) no matter what the form of the original. A few early payments are in *giuli*. Ten *giuli* equaled roughly ∇ 1.⁸

⁵ AB-37, no. 610, paragraph 10: "si proibisce alli detti Capimastri che non possino dare à fare alcuna sorte de detti lavori à Cottimo, et questo accio il lavoro non sia strapazzato è malamente fatto ma il tutto sia fatto lavorare à opera di giornate, à uso de buoni mastri altramente ecc." (Item 13 adds that all stonework must be measured before installation.)

⁶ G. J. Hoogewerff, "Architetti in Roma durante il pontificato di Paolo V Borghese," ASRSP, LXVI, 1943, p. 137.

⁷ *Prospetto delle operazioni fatte in Roma per lo stabilimento del nuovo sistema metrico negli stati romani*, Rome, 1811, pp. 39 and. 293; cf. *Enciclopedia italiana*, s.v. "Metrici, sistemi."

⁸ Not a fixed ratio. In the sale of the palace to Camillo Borghese in 1605 this was the equivalent (see p. 45, note 8 above). For obvious reasons it is extremely hard to give a reasonable value in contemporary currency for the scudo of ca. 1600. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, London, 1955, p. 174, estimated its value in the seventeenth century as something less than £ 1 Sterling, i.e., about \$ 2.50. Ackerman, "Architectural Practice," *JSAH*, XIII, 3, 1954, p. 11, note 26, gave the High Renaissance value as about \$ 10.00. Certainly the money became inflated during the sixteenth century, since Wittkower's approximation is closer to its value for the period we are discussing. A great deal of information on Roman coinage is collected in Edoardo Martinori, *Annali della Zecca di Roma*, Rome, 1917-19 (Istituto Italiano di Numismatica).

In general, the presentation of the documents is based on the example of Ackerman.⁹ Each document is preceded by a brief précis in English that attempts to give the salient facts of the printed original so far as they pertain to the palace. In the transcriptions of the documents I have not been entirely consistent. In the section that follows, the Italian records have been transcribed as literally as possible. I have occasionally supplied abbreviated letters in parentheses to make reading smoother, but formulas like M.^o (*Mastro* or *Maestro*) and Ill.^{mo} (*Illustrissimo*) have been left as written. A few of the words employed in the documents are dialect: thus *tevola* is used for *tegola* (tile). Capitalization is haphazard in the originals; I have respected it except in the case of names of persons, which I have capitalized in all instances. The Latin documents were transcribed by a professional archivist who did her best to supply a good text, but who did not indicate abbreviations. Considerable trouble has been taken to present the texts accurately, but since the Latin itself is often corrupt or obscure, this has not always been easy. It can perhaps be assumed that glaring errors are those of the texts themselves. In the notes, I have not shown abbreviations in the texts of the *avvisi*, since the published collections do not. When no other source is given, the transcriptions are my own.

All words or letters in parentheses are mine. The use of "... " indicates words omitted from the entry. I have not shown the omission of entire items between excerpts since this is as often the case as not; unless the sense of the passage indicates the contrary, it is not to be assumed that the entries are consecutive. To take an example from Doc. 17: after the explanatory introduction, the general heading is indented thus:

Muri di Tevolozze.

Under this, the places where work was done is given a different heading:

Alla loggia vecchia verso le scale.

This should by no means be assumed to be the first place actually mentioned in the document, it is merely the first one that seemed to be worth transcribing. Below this is listed all the work done at that place. If any of these details are transcribed they appear unindented:

Muro murato dietro le nicchia in d.^o cortile verso la loggia. . .

Often, however, it has seemed sufficient to indicate where work was done, without transcribing more. Doc. 22 provides an example of this, and it must always be assumed that many entries have been omitted. Doc. 25 is probably the most nearly complete of all these transcribed, since it records a destroyed work of some interest. The total value of the *misura* should always be taken into account.

Since the Borghese archive is not now generally accessible, it seemed best to transcribe the evidence rather fully. I am painfully aware that my transcriptions cannot always be perfect; moreover, additional information must lie undiscovered. But I am confident that errors of omission and commission are minor in the case of the seventeenth century history of the palace. The evidence is still too scrappy for the sixteenth century, and more may eventually come to light that will change the picture as I have presented it. The later history of the palace did not seem to deserve the intensive investigation that would have been necessary for its documentation; it has merely been summarized in the text, with occasional references in the notes to such documents as I happened to find. The same is true for the other Borghese properties nearby.

⁹ See his valuable Introduction, pp. 150 f.

SHORT TITLE LIST OF VOLUMES CITED IN THE ARCHIVIO BORGHESE (AB),
ARCHIVIO SEGRETO VATICANO

(Numbers in bold face refer to volumes from which excerpts are quoted in the following section).

6	Acque, Titoli diversi - I
22	Atti di Famiglia, Titoli diversi - I
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306	Fabbricati in Roma, Titoli diversi - I
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1476	" " " " - XXX (1671-79)
1477	" " " " - XXXI (" 1670 " - actually later)
4126	Ville Tuscolane - Muratori (1608-18)
4168	Artisti vari - Fabrica palazzo Borghese in Roma (1605-23)
4173	" " - (1607-23)
4174	" " - Scalpellino (1608-23)
4198	" " - Edificazione nuova fabbrica incontro al palazzo nobile (1845-50)
5059	Filza del Maestro L - LXIX (1909-14)
5544	Scritture diverse e Mandati (1607-24)
5546	" " " " (1623)
5547	" " " " (1623 - Sauli)
5550	" " " " (1624)
5551	" " " " (1624)
5557	" " " " (1627)
6044	Filza Libro Mastro Card. Scipione Borghese (1624-25)
6045	" " " " " " (1625)
6049	" " " " " " (1625-26)
6053	" " " " " " (1627)
6057	" " " " " " (1627-28)
6069	" " " " " " (1632)
6089	Registro dei Mandati al Banco (1624-26)
6093	" " " " " (1630-33)

- 6095 *ter* Indice documenti nell'archivio del Cardinale Scipione Borghese, II
7926 Registro dei Mandati (1610-14 - Rotoli)
7926 *bis* Ricevute de' Mandati al Banco (1610-15)
7927 Registro de' Mandati al Banco (1614-15)
7927 *bis* Mandati provvisioni e donazioni (1614-15)
7928 Registro dei Mandati al Banco (1615-19)
7933 " " " (1622-23)
8611 Cartella VI - Carte del Palazzo Borghese ...
8619 Ripristino ingresso Palazzo Borghese a Ripetta.

DOCUMENTS

1. 1560 – 6 May. ASR, Archivio del Tribunale dell'Archivio dei Notari Capitolini. Atti di Ludovicus Reydetus, 6182, fols. 590–591 v.

Sale of palace and adjoining property in Campo Marzio near the Ripetta owned by Cristoforo Poggio to Rev. Tomasso (del) Giglio for √ 6800. The sale includes property bound by the Via dei Condotti, by the street running from the Via dei Condotti to the Ripetta, by the Via di Ripetta, by the street going to the Piazza di Monte d'Oro from the Ripetta (Via dell'Arancio), and by the street from that piazza to the Via dei Condotti. Also included in the sale is the stable on the piazza before the palace.

... spectare et pertinere pleno iure unum pallatium cum quodam argasterio (ergasterio) seu cancello pro recondendis lignis et nonnullis viridariis contiguis dicto pallatio, quae posita sunt Romae in regione Campi Martii apud Ripetam, quibus ab uno latere est via publica, quae ex ponte Sancti Angeli tendit ad ecclesiam Sanctissimae Trinitatis in Monte Collino, ab alio vero ante portam dicti pallatii est alia via publica, quae ex platea Pallavicina nuncupata tendit ad viam rectam populi, et ab alio ante portam dicti argasterii seu cancelli est via recta, qua iter ad portam populi, nec non ab alio latere partim est certa via publica quae tendit a via recta populi ad plateam dell'Hortaccio nuncupatam, partim sunt domus heredum alias Lodovici de Mirandula et dominae Appoloniae de Laude, et domus Joannis Petri Condopoli pictoris, et aliorum ac partim alia via publica qua itur a dicta platea dell'Hortaccio ad viam praedictam tendentem a ponte Sancti Angeli ad Sanctissimam Trinitatem et alii fines si qui etc. Item unum annuum et perpetuum censum seu canonem vel responionem scutorum decem et iuliorum octo monetae super domibus dominae Dominicae uxoris dicti magistri Ioannis Petri pictoris retro dictum pallatium sitis, et unum alium etiam perpetuum censum scutorum trium et iuliorum octo super domo dictae dominae Appoloniae iuxta fines dicti pallatii, ut supra dictum est, sita. Item unum stabulum ante dictum pallatium, et domum, quae alias dicebatur de Balapani cum omnibus et singulis dicti stabuli et domus eiusdem pertinentiis in statu et terminis in quibus reperiuntur per dictum quondam cardinalem acquisitis ex emptione iam facta de eis a quibusdam domino Luca et Alexandro de Balapanibus cum onere tamen annui perpetui census scutorum sexaginta, qui annuatim debentur priori et fratribus sanctae Crucis in Hierusalem intra et prope moenia Urbis. Item unum alium stabulum seu stalletam nuncupatam sitam in plateola ante dictum pallatium, et iuxta alium stabulum praedictum et alios illius fines etc. Considerato, ut asserit, per eundem quod magis ei proficuum est dictum pallatium cum pertinentiis et sitis (sic) suis, et reliqua alia bona vendere et alienare, et pretium illorum in satisfactionem pro maiori parte quamplurimum debitorum et legatorum per dictum quondam cardinalem relictorum et factorum in dicto testamento... et ne sit coactus alienare bona stabilia, quae Bononiae (?) hodie habet ubi habitat, et in futurum etiam habitare intendit. Hinc est quod hac praesenti die lunae 6. mensis Maii 1560. praedictus magnificus dominus Christophorus Poggius ad quem solum, ut praefertur, et ipse iterum asseruit pleno iure spectant, et pertinent hodie dictum pallatium, et reliqua dicta bona tam pro parte sua dictae hereditatis... ac dictum pallatium cum cancello et viridariis, stabulo et domo, ac stalleta nuncupata, nec non duos census, seu canones, et responiones, et omnia et singula alia membra, pertinentia et adiacentia dicti pallatii, et illius, ac aliarum rerum praedictarum situs existentes tam intus quam extra dictas res, et bona vendita usque ad vias publicas. Item cancellum, viridaria et alia quecunque spectantia et pertinentia ad ipsum dominum Christophorum, et iura et iurisdictiones ac actiones, que et quas ipse habet in et super rebus et bonis predictis, et eorum causa, et occasione vigore acquisitionum de eisdem factis per dictum quondam bonae memoriae cardinalem, prout per instrumenta desuper confecta... et tradidit dicto Reverendo Domino Thomae Lilio Abbreviatori de maiori parco praesenti stipulanti et recipienti pro se, ac suis heredibus, et successoribus quibuscunque et vel nominatis per eum vel illi seu illis cui vel quibus iura sua in toto vel in parte cedere seu concedere voluerit ad habendum etc. et ex titulo, et causa huiusmodi per se, et suos heredes et successores quoscunque cessit dicto Reverendo domino Thomae Lilio

emptori praesenti, et stipulanti, ut supra, omnia iura omnesque actiones, ponens, etc, constituens, etc. dans licentiam etc. et donec etc. et hanc venditionem et alienationem fecit dictus dominus Christophorus dicto Reverendo domino Thomae praesenti, et acquirenti, ut supra pro pretio et pretii nomine in totum et per totum pro omnibus rebus supra venditis scutorum sex millium octingentorum (V 6800.)...

2. 1566 – 6 December. ASV, Armadio XXX. Divers. Camer. 226 (fols. 101 v–102 v).

Order restraining Numa Pompilio and Giovanni Pietro Condopulo, made at the instance of Rev. Tomasso (del) Giglio, Bishop of Sora, owner of palaces and buildings from the Ortaccio to the Ripetta (including a house inhabited by the Condopulo behind the old Palazzo, mentioned in Doc. 1), prohibiting interference with the construction that is underway. (The building is not specified, but in view of the evidence presented by Docs. 7 and 8, it could be the new palace, which was already in existence at this time.)

Vitellotius etc. Vobis Dominis Numae Pompilio Condopulo et Joanni Petro ipsius fratri omnibusque aliis in executione presentium nominatis ex.º(?) rei publicas pluribus de mandato etc. auctoritate etc. et ad instantiam Reverendi Thomae Lili episcopi Sorani domini et patroni palatii et fabricae del Ortaccio sive Ripettae nuncupato in actis prout opus fuerit latius specificantes clausulis tenore praesentium inhibemus et inhibendo expresso praecipimus et mandamus ne visis praesentibus et (sic) nobis intimatis sub 500 f poenis audeatis aut aliquis vestrum audeat seu praesumat quovis praetextu et quaeesito colore ac quavis occasione et causa eundem R.P.D. instantem vel suos in dicta fabrica sive opera eiusdem laboratores operarios et magistros super libera continuatione fabricae et operis praedictorum maxime in parte eiusdem in confinibus sive iuxta domum seu domos et viridarium seu domum earundem proprietatis eiusdem Reverendissimi instantis quam seu quas ipsi adversarii sive aliquis eorundem detinet et occupat existenti molestare, vexare, perturbare, inquietare sive aliquam molestiam, perturbationem sive vexationem per se vel alium seu alios directe vel indirecte ipso Reverendo instante vel aliis suis praedictis sive alicui eorum inferre minusque fabricam et opus praedictum aliqua in parte et maxime partem praedictam in confinibus et iuxta domos praedictas existentes ingredi introire sive per illam transire vel lignamina et, ut vulgo dicitur, l'armaria ipsius fabricae et ad opus ipsum continuandum requisita et seu alias mihi quomodolibet reddita sive existens ex suis locis tangere sive amovere minusque cancellum et portam ipsius partis fabricae predictam clausam existentem aliquo modo aperire vel alias apertas ingredi...

3. 1586 – 14 May. ASR, Archivio dei Notari Capitolini. Atti di Franciscus Pechinolus, 1246 (fols. 33 v–34 v, second numeration).

Sale by Giovanni del Giglio to Cardinal Pedro Deza of the palace, or new building, the large stable, and the little house, including all wood, stone, and iron nearby, all columns and stone within the stable and new palace, and in the street leading to the old palace, and the two large cipollino columns in the piazza, for V 16,000.

Illustrissimus dominus Joannes Lilius patritius Bononiensis et Romanus ad quem, (ut asseruit) pleno iure domini vel quasi spectant, et pertinent pallatium sive fabrica nova positum Romae in reg.º Campi Martii in platea di Mons.º del Giglio nuncupata cui ante et a duobus lateribus cohaerent via publica et retro palatium vetus nuncupatum ipsius domini Joannis et bona domini Numae Pompilii Condopuli sub proprietate ipsius domini Joannis. Item stabulum magnum ad praesens conductum per illustrissimum et reverendissimum dominum cardinalem de Medicis et aliud stabulum parvum, nec non quaedam domus conducta per magistrum Petrum Ambrosinum Mediolanensem carozarium invicem contigua et unita, sita in dicta regione vicina dicto palatio novo, via tendente ad palatium vetus mediante, quibus a tribus lateribus viae publicae et ab alio latere cohaerent bona dominorum heredum quondam Alphonsi Ferri vel si quis, quae omnia et singula supradicta bona, dixit et promisit esse libera excepto annuo censu scutorum sexaginta monetae alias imposito et vendito supradicto stabulo magno per olim illos de Bellapanibus. . . nunc autem sanctae Mariae Angelorum in Thermis Diocletianis: prout in instrumento rogato per quondam Joannem Baptistam Gilium notarium romanum sub die 25. septembris 1549 per me notarium infrascriptis partibus coram infrascriptis testibus, viso et lecto, quod in fine presentis instrumenti quandocumque registrari posse voluit, plenius continetur:

sponte omni modo per se et eius heredes et successores quoscumque: pallatium sive fabricam novam ac stabula magnum et parvum domumque praedicta cum omnibus et singulis illorum et cuiusque eorum membris, pertinentibus, adiacentibus, introitibus, exitibus, usibus, commoditatibus, iuribus, et iurisdictionibus universis quae, quos et quas: pallatium, stabula et domus praedicta habent et continent: et quodlibet eorum habet et continet in se, supra se, infra se a centro terrae usque ad summitatem coeli et ad vias publicas; Item omnia lignamina, lapides et ferramenta, quae nunc reperiuntur in districtu dicti palatii novi; item omnes columnas et lapides existentes intra stabulum magnum et palatium novum in via tendente ad palatium vetus; Item duas columnas magnas existentes in platea dicti palatii novi, et omnes lapides marmorei cipollini pariter in dicta platea dicti palatii novi existentes. . . Hanc autem venditionem ac omnia et singula in hoc instrumento contenta dictus dominus Joannes fecit, et facere declaravit dicto illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino Petro cardinali Deza absenti dicta stipulatione interveniente pro pretio et nomine veri et iusti pretii scutorum sexdecim mille (V 16,000) monetae de juli decem pro scuto, et etiam cum onere dicti annui census scutorum sexaginta similium, quo dictum stabulum magnum est gravatum, ut supra: quemque dictus magnificus et reverendus dominus licentiatius Petrus Romanus magister domus et procurator dicti illustrissimi domini cardinalis suscepit. . .

4. 1586 – 6 August. ASR, Archivio dei Notari Capitolini. Atti di Franciscus Pechinulus, 1246 (fol. 37 v, second numeration).

Permit to work on the roof of the Palazzo Deza. Martino (Longhi) architect, witness.

Declaratio.

Die Mercuri 6. Augusti 1586

Illustrissimus et Reverendissimus Petrus cardinalis Deza antedictus dominus et patronus pacificus et quietus palatii membrum et iurisdictionum et aliorum praedictorum continuando eis pacificam et quietam possessionem, in qua existet alias omni meliori, ut dixit, declaravit et confessus fuit se palam et publice ac nemine contradicente confici fecisse in platea dicti palatii ad ipsum spectante tectum, ut possent sub eo carpentarii, et alii cimentarii laborare pro servitio fabricae dicti palatii super quibus Romae in eodem palatio Reverendo licentiatio Petro Romano antedicto etc. Martino Architecto teste.

5. 1586 – 10 October. ASR, Archivio dei Notari Capitolini. Atti di Franciscus Pechinulus, 1246 (fol. 200, second numeration).

Contract with the stonecutter, mason, and carpenter working on the Palazzo Deza.

p. Promissio pro Ill.^{mo} et R.^{mo} d(omi)no Petro Car.^{le} Deza

Die 10. Octobris 1586

M.^{ro} Paolo del quon(dam) Domenico della Mola de Coltre dio(cesi)s Comen(sis) mur(ator)e

M.^{ro} Fran.^{co} Bartolotti Fiorentino scarpellino et

M.^{ro} Jacopo de Pomis de Comen. Falegname, quali, attendono a la fab.^{ca} del palazzo dell'. . .s. Car.^{le} di Deza posto p.^{so} Ripetta sponte o(mn)i m(odo) promettono a detto S. Car.^{le} Ill.^{mo} p.^{nte} et accettante di assistere a detta fabrica con ogni sveltà, diligenza et sollicitudine, di modo che detto S. Ill.^{mo} resti con ogni soddisfatt.^{te}. Et vogliono ancora e così si contentano, che quando detta fabrica sarà in tutto o in parte fornita secondo che verrà S.S. Ill.^{ma} lei possa nominare e deputare à suo arbitrio un perito intendente che le sarà à grado per ciascuna de dette arti: Et permettono et consentono da me di stare et acquietarsi a la misura e tassa che detto perito dirà et calcularà à ciascuna de dette arti senza replicare ne contrastare ne richiamare a quello che detto perito et intendente giudicarà esser giusto et honesto si dia à ciascuno di loro per quanto havevanno fatto interni detta fabbrica si di materiali come della loro fatica, rimota ogni app(ellatio)ne. . .

6. 1586 – 12 December. ASR, Archivio dei Notari Capitolini. Atti di Franciscus Pechinulus, 1246 (fols. 222 and 213).

Contract with another stonecutter for work on 3 sides of the court, to be executed like that already built, including columns, pilasters, arches, etc.; balustrades and Ionic capitals on the second floor. Windows to be made similar to those in place, including those under the roof. All to be done as well as the work of

this kind done at the Gesù, or better if possible. (Doc. 9 shows that little of this work was actually executed at this time).

- 222 Obligatio pro Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo domino Petro Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinale Deza nuncupato

Die 12. Decembris 1586

Magister Iulius Coltrici scarpellarius Florentinus sponte ante me promisit et convenit, supradicto. . . Cardinali Deza absente, magnifico et reverendo domino licentiatto Petro Romano clerico nullius diocesis eius magistro domus presente etc. . . omnia et singula laboraria in presente folio descripta modis, formis, qualitatibus, bonitatibus in eo confectis libere et sine aliqua exceptione (?) conficere et confectis facere. . .

- 213 Io Giulio Choltrici iscarpellino fiorentino Mi obrigo di fare li sotto ischriti lavori per il prezo sotto iscrito a ogni capo
 Prima Mi obrigo di fare lo iscalino dele tre faccie del cortile a g(i)uli 2 il palmo andate
 Item Mi obrigo di fare tutte le base che vano sotto le colone e sotto e pilastri de cantoni come quele che sono in opera a guli 45 la caretata
 A fare i pilastri isolati a li cantoni de cortile a guli 44 la caretata
 A fare li capitelli tanto delle colone quanto de i pilastri a guli 45 la caretata
 A fare le cimase che vano sopra ai capiteli come quelli che sono in opera a guli 45 la caretata
 A fare egli archi che vano sopra ale cimase come quelli che sono in opera a guli 46 la caretata
 Architrave e fregio e cornice che vano sopra a gli archi a guli 38 la caretata
 A fare il gocolatoio a guli 38 la caretata
 A fare li iscalini longi palmi 12 1/4 lar. p. 2 1/2 a guli 34 luno
 A fare le porte e finestre piane di simile grandeza e groseza di quele che sono in opera a guli 2 il palmo
 A fare e pilastri e mezi pilastri che anderano dreto a la iscalca a guli 38 la caretata
 A fare il dado soto la basa de balaustri alto p. 1 e grosso p. 1 a baiochi 24 il palmo
 A fare i pedi istalli con i mezi balaustri a guli 50 la caretata
 A fare i balaustri del parapetto a guli 13 luno
 213v A fare la cimasa sopra a detti balaustri larga p. 1 1/3 a è grossa 2/3 a guli 4 il palmo
 A fare le finestre de le istanze a tereno con le finestre di cantina soto senza il dado di simile fattura
 ▽ 24. luna
 A fare le finestre al piano dello sala con frego e cornice e frontispiti ▽ 27. luna
 A fare le finestre Mezanile simile a quele che sono in opera ▽ 7. luna
 A fare li dadi Magiori che coronano per la facata simili a quelli che sono in opera a guli 22 la cana
 A fare le finestre sotto il tetto i stipiti architrave e cornice simile a quele che sono in opera ▽ 12. luna
 A fare il dado sotto le finestre di cantina a guli 35 la caretata
 A fare e dadi Minori per la facata a guli 17 la canna
 A fare i Mezanili a mezo a la sala sopra a le camere ▽ 6. luna
 E piu si dichiara al secondo piano delle logie ci vano le base con piu Me(m)bri e i capiteli ionichi che si abia (ad) acrescere il prezo della manifattura che ne di piu e cosi rimanemo tutti a 3 dacordo quando si di chiarava il calculo con vostra S.
 E bisogna(n)do altri lavori oltra ai sopra aiscriti a ragione deli altri prezi e bene lavorati e con diligentia e tutti le sopradetti lavori siano di un prezo senza giunte e senza tasselli e senza stucco et senza gesso, di travertino novo e buono delle fosse di Tivoli, e del vecchio bianco, e che non sia cotto, approvato dall'architetto, benissimo lavorato al paragone de quelli deli padri del Jesu e piu tosto meglio.

7. 1587 – January. AB-306, no. 2.

Confirmation of the sale of the palace to Deza. Giovanni and Marcantonio del Giglio were given by Tommaso del Giglio, among other things, the beginning of a palace, a stable, a house, and courtyard in Campo Marzio on the Via dei Condotti, in deeds notarized by Marcantonio Carcerio and Prospero de Cello of Sora on 1574 and afterward. After the death of Tommaso, Annibale, another nephew, claimed these gifts

to be nullified by a will of 1578 that made him heir. After 8 years of litigation (1578-1586), the aforementioned palace had deteriorated, and the property earned almost nothing. Giovanni sold the palace to Cardinal Deza for ∇ 16,000 with the understanding that Annibale would consent...

Declaratio cum confirmatione et designatione fidei commissionis ad favorem Cardinalis Deza

Urbis.

J. Severolus

Beatissime Pater: Exponitur humiliter Sanctitati Vestrae pro parte devoti illius oratoris Joannis de Lilio Incolae Urbis quod alias bonae memoriae Thomas Lilius olim Episcopus Soranus donatione irrevocabili inter vivos donavit Marco Antonio de Lilio et dicto Joanni eius ex fratre nepotibus diversa sua bona, et inter alia quandam fabricam, sive principium Palatii, et quoddam stabulum, et quandam domum, et curtile sita in Urbe in regione Campi Martii in via, qua iter ad ecclesiam Sanctissimae Trinitatis iuxta sua notissima Confinia, ut in donatione huiusmodi instrumento vel instrumentis desuper confectis per devotos vestros M. Antonium Carcerium et Prosperum de Cellis notarios Soranos quorum tenorem S. V. pro expressis habere placeat, continetur et successive de anno Domini M.D.L.xxiiii (1574) seu alio veriori episcopus condito Testamento instituit heredem devotum vestrum Annibalem etiam de Lilio suum ex alio fratre nepotem, aliosque illi tunc expressos substituit, et ut hereditas ipsius ac omnia bona sua remanerent apud ipsos successores, et essent perpetuo in sua familia, prohibuit omnibus heredibus institutis, et substitutis usque in infinitum, et in perpetuum... Post obitum vero dicti Thomae episcopi praedictus Annibal illius heres pretendens dictas donationes fuisse nullas, invalidas, falsas, et revocatas dictos donatarios ab anno Domini MDLxxviii (1578) per multos annos civiliter, et criminaliter exagitavit, et tandem iussu felicitis recordationis Gregorii Papae xiii, Praedecessoris vestri huiusmodi lites in devotam Creaturam Alexandrum Episcopum Ostiensem Cardinalem Farnesium nuncupatum fuerunt compromissae cuius Laudum, sive sententia dum expectaretur publicari dictus Joannes considerans praedictam fabricam valde his octo annis, fuisse deterioratam nullumque fructum ex ea perceptum, neque imposterum percipi posse, nisi maxima cum impensa, quam propter multa incommoda, quae passus est pro huiusmodi litium sustentatione, et propter tenuitatem ipsius facultatum, quae valde erant impares voragini dictae fabricae sustinere posse diffidebat ex stabulo vero singulis annis percipi solum scuta circiter octoginta, de quibus sexaginta erant eroganda in solutionem cuiusdam annui census sesaginta scutorum antiquitus super eo impositi, et fere reliqua in sarcinendis tectis, et reficiendo amatonatu ac aliis necessariis. De alia vero domo, et curtili percipi solum scuta quadraginta quinque eamque fuisse veterem, et ruinosam, et propria rei familiari suae non expedire illa sic retinere tandem die xiii Mai presentis anni MDLxxxvi (1586) dictam fabricam, et stabulum, ac domum, et curtile cum suis membris et adiacentibus vendidit devotae etiam creaturae vestrae Petro tituli sanctae Priscae Presbitero Cardinali di Dezza nuncupato pro pretio scutorum sexdecim millium (∇ 16,000), et cum onere solvendi dictum annum censum scutorum sexaginta... et pro maiori cautela dicti Petri Cardinalis Dezza idem Joannes promisit facere consentire dictum Annibalem, qui veritus ne si declararetur dictas donationes fuisse invalidas, et sic bona donata caderent sub dicto testamento ipse huiusmodi consensum praestando incurreret poenas in illo appositas consentire recusavit, et recusat... Supplicat igitur humiliter Sanctitati Vestrae dictus Joannes orator quatenus in praemissis opportune providendum ipsumque specialibus favoribus, et gratiis prosequeendis venditionem dictorum bonorum, quatenus tamen contingat declarari illa non comprehendi in dictis donationibus, sed cadere sub dicto testamento stante investitura, et utilitate ex ea resultante praedictis ipsi oratori non obstantibus prohibitionibus, ac poenis in dicto testamento appositis facere, licuisse, et propterea poenas praedictas nullatenus incurrisse declarare ipsamque venditionem confirmare, et approbare omnesque singulos tam iuris, quam facti defectus, si qui intervenerunt in eadem supplere... ac Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinales vel quoscunque alios etc. iudicare etc. debere irritumque etc. decernere voluntatemque dicti Thomae episcopi, quo ad hoc opportune et sufficienter commutare dignemini de gratia speciali non obstantibus voluntate testatoris, ac prohibitione huiusmodi et aliis praemissis constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis etiam iuramento etc. roboratis dictae Urbis statutis etc. legibus et privilegiis quoque (sic) indultis et litteris Apostolicis etc. in contrarium quomodolibet concessis etc. quibus omnibus etiam si de illis etc. eorum tenoribus etc. latissime hac vice derogare placeat ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque cum clausulis opportunis.

Fiat ut petitur F.

Et cum absolute a censuris ad effectum etc. et quod donationis, et testamenti ac venditionis et alienationis...

Fiat F.

(*First copy*: "Minuta supplica della confirmatione della vendita del Palazzo fatta... spedita li 9 Gennaio 1587")

(*Other copy*: "Copia collationata della supplica della confirmatione della vendita del Palazzo fatta da Giovanni de Lilio al Cardinal Dezza con la derogatione del fidei commissio... minuta di detta supplica")

8. 1590 - 3 July. AB-306, no. 26, 8.

Motu proprio of Pope Sixtus V confirming the validity of the donations of 1564 and 1566 by Tomasso del Giglio to his nephews Giovanni and Marcantonio del Giglio, which included the improvements made by Tomasso on the fabric of the new palace after the aforesaid donations.

Motus proprius. Confirmatio Laudi die 13 Julii 1585. Urbis. Sixtus Papa V^a

Motu proprio etc. Cum sicut accepimus felicis recordationis Gregorius XIII praedecessor noster lites, quaestiones et controversias in Romana curia etiam certo seu certis iudicibus inter dilectum filium Annibalem de Lilio civem Bononiensem uti heredem bonae memoriae Thomae etiam de Lilio tunc episcopi Placentini provinciae Bononiensem ex una, et similis memoriae Marcum Antonium, tunc episcopum Forliviensem et dilectum filium Joannem similiter de Lilio etiam civem Bononiensem eius fratrem ab anno Domini 1578 partibus ex altera de et super invaliditate, et nullitate et revocatione respective duarum donationum per dictum Thomam episcopum in dictorum Marci Antonii episcopi, et Joannis favorem respective factarum, et per dilectos filios Marcum Antonium Carcerium, et Prosperum de Cellis Notarios Soranos rogatarum, nec non super pretensa falsitate alterius ex dictis donationibus, rebusque aliis in actis causae et causarum huiusmodi latius deductis, et illorum occasione in prima, seu alia veriori instantia vertentes, et indecisas pendentes primo in similis memoriae Alexandrum Sanctae Mariae in Via Sfortiam, et Flavium Sanctae Prisca Ursinum, et illis vita functis, in Philippum Sancti Eustacchii Vastavillanum, et Philippum Sancti Sixti titulum Boncompagnum nuncupatos, S.R.E. presbiteros cardinales per eum cum certo dilecti filii Magistri Seraphini cappellani nostri tunc sui et causarum palatii apostolici auditoris componendas et fine debito terminandas in sua signatura gratiae oretenus commissas et predictas partes eius oretenus compromissas, quae postea nec compositae nec terminatae fuerunt, sed ad suos iudices praedictos reversa fuerant novissime in similis memoriae Alexandrum episcopum Ostiensem S.R.E. vicecancellarium cardinalem Farnesium nuncupatum per eum etiam fine debito terminandas compromitti iussisset et idem Alexander cardinalis arbiter de certo dilectorum filiorum nostrorum Hippoliti sancti Pancratii presbiter cardinalis Aldobrandini nuncupati tunc, et magistri Marcelli Babali cappellani nostri, et tunc sui, et causarum palatii huiusmodi auditoris in vim dicti compromissi et facultatis sibi attributae ac alias omni meliori modo in scriptis sententiaverit, laudaverit, et arbitratus fuserit constare de dictis donationibus per dictos notarios de annis eiusdem domini 1564 et 1566 respective rogatis illasque fuisse, et esse legitimas, bonas, et validas, et legitime, bene, ac valide factas, et tam a Joanne quam a Marcoantonio acceptatas, et per utrunque utique eorum respective fuisse, et esse ius quaesitum ad bona et super bonis mobilibus, et immobilibus, iuribus, actionibus, creditis, pecuniis, officiis et aliis rebus in illis contentis, nec non super melioramentis (sic) factis per dictum Thomam episcopum in fabrica palatii novi post donationes praefatas, nec illas, aut earum aliquam potuisse aut debuisse revocari...

9. 1592 - 17 June. AB-306, no. 10.

Bill for partial completion of the court of the Palazzo Deza: for foundations toward the Via di Monte d'Oro, for bricks in the upper loggia, stakes for the three foundations to be built, installation of stones, columns, etc. Bill for stonework including 8 column bases and capitals, 4 arches, arms on the arches, 40 balusters (enough for five bays of the Ionic loggia), etc. (From this it appears that little, if anything, of the work contracted in Doc. 6 can have been done).

(Document written in Spanish on left and Italian on right of double page, here combined).

Quenta del gasto dela obra de pared q̄ toca al murador (Scandaglio, della spesa, dell'opera, di muro, che appartiene al muratore qual'andarà, in Requadrare, il Cortile, nel Palazzo. . . Dezza, cioè in quanto, à quello, che per adesso si risolve di voler far Sua S.^a Ill.^{ma} e p.^a)

Por toda la pared tanto de los fundam.^{tos} como de la pared sobre tierra q' se hà de hazer para requadrar el restante del patio, con las bueltas tanto de las cantinas como del corredor importara todo 375. canas à razon de 14. julios la cana segun el ordinario (Tutto il muro, tanto delli fond.^{ti} come del muro sopra tera, che andara, fatto, per riquadrar il resto delle loggie nel cortile, di S. S.^a Ill.^{ma} 2.^o quello si dissegna, di voler far adesso, computato le volte delle cantine, e volte sopra cantine, della loggia verso il vicolo, sara tutto insieme ca. 375 - a g.^{li} 14. per canna, 2.^o il solito, monta)

∇ 525.

Por enladrillar el corredor al Vano de la sala de ladrillos roxos, canas 16. à jul. 14. por cana - (Matt.^o impiano de matoni rossi, qual andará, fatto, nella 2.^a loggia al piano, di sopra, q(uadrat)o ca. 16 a g.^{li} 14 per ca. m.^{ta})

∇ 22.40

Por el gasto y hechura de 750. palos ò passones incirca los quales van puestos en los tres fundam.^{tos} - (Per il costo, è mettitura, in opera, de n.^o 750. passoni in circa quali andaranno messi nelli 3. fundamenti, da farsi, montano al. [blanê] l'uno, con la mett.^{ra} e costo d'essi montano ins.^e)

∇ 120.

Por poner las piedras del escapelino y columnas, y cadenas à las bueltas, y otras cosas - (Mettitura de conci, colonne di granito, catene, sopra le volte et altri lavori di stima per d.^{to} lavoro, ins.^e montano)

∇ 64.60

Sommano Insieme, tutte le soprad.^e partite, della soprad.^a spesa come sopra ins.^e m.^{ta} ... dico

∇ 732.

(Another sheet, for stonework, with Spanish left and Italian right; the latter is almost illiterate, and is not included in the list of works transcribed below)

Quenta hecha por una parte del cortil del Palacio... Deça asia sus casillas. - (Boza fatta per un parte della loggia del palazzo... Dezza dala parte inverso le sua case (sic))

Por 90. palmos de escalones	∇ 18.
Por 30. palmas de piedra donde se ponen las columnas	∇ 8.
Por 15. palmas de escalos en la buelta	∇ 3.
Por 8. basas y juntas de columnas	∇ 30.
Por la basa del pilastro del canton	∇ 5.
Por adereçar ocho columnas	∇ 32.
Por el pilastro del canton	∇ 26.
Por 8. capiteles con las juntas de las columnas	∇ 25.
Por el capitel del pilastro del canton	∇ 6.
Por 4. piedras para poner en cima los capiteles	∇ 30.
Por la junta de la piedra del canton	∇ 5.
Por quatro arcos	∇ 65.
Por quatro pedaços de architraves	∇ 6.
Por quatro pedaços de susarolas	∇ 6.
Por quatro pedaços de denteles	∇ 5.
Por la corniça grande ò gocciolator con la buelta	∇ 58.
Por la herradura de las columnas	∇ 5.
Por las armas q' van en los arcos	∇ 6.
Por las bueltas de los pilares y architrave y cordon grande ò gocciolatore	∇ 10.
	<hr/>
	∇ 359.

Quenta de los pies estables desdel Vano donde cae la (?) agua arriba.

Por cinco pedaços de escalones	∇ 16.
Por cinco pedaços de dado, donde se han de poner los balaustres	∇ 15.
Por 40. balaustres	∇ 52.
Por cinco pedaços de piedra que estan encima de los balaustres	∇ 36.
Por quatro pies estables	∇ 52.
Por el pie estable del canton	∇ 22.
	<hr/>
	∇ 193.

10. 1600 - 1 July. AB-306, no. 14.

Evaluation of houses situated next to the Palazzo Deza, bought by Cardinal Deza, by Flaminio Ponzio for Cardinal Deza and Carlo Lambardi for the owners, finally resolved by Gaspare Guerra at the price of V 984.01.

Copia. A di 27 di genaro sino a di p.^o luglio 1600

Misura e stima delle 2 case et casalino di M. Gieronimo Belardino e Gio: Pietro di Ferrari quale le compra... Car.^{1^o} Dezza...

Misurati, et stimati da noi sotto schritti cioe per parte di S.S. Ill.^{ma} da me Flaminio Ponzi et per parte di d.^{ti} Ferrari dal M.^{co} M(esser) Carlo Lambardi misurati d'accordo, et non essendo stati d'accordo nelli prezzi risalvando del Sito Habbiamo eletto d'accordo il M.^{co} M.^r Gasparre Guerra a terminarli dett prezzi...

La casa che confina con la casa di S. S. Ill.^{ma}...

Casalino dinanzi alla d.^a casa...

L'altra casa contigua alla retrod.^a qual e dietro alla Casa denanzi de d.^{ti} ferrari...

Somano insieme...

(V 984.01)

Flaminio Ponzi di pp.^a mano

Io Gasparri Guerra eletto Terzo Perito Afferm(o) quanto di sop. mano pp.^a

11. 1605 - 9 December. AB-4168.

Purchase of 40 beams by oral order of Flaminio Ponzio architect, for fencing in the first foundations of the palace. (Important for the indication of the architect).

... Fran.^{co} e Gio. Batt.^{ta} Borghese devono dare a di 9. di dicem.^e V 10. - m.^{ta} per 40. Travicelle di p.^{mi} 13. l'uno... m.^{ro} Gabriello Sardi murat.^{te} disse per ord.^e datoli à bocca il s. Flam.^o Punso (sic) Architetto, disse servire per Palificare i Primi fondamenti del Palazzo... V 10.

(More work through 11 February 1606 recorded).

Carlo Lambardi mano pp.

12. 1606 - 22 June. AB-306, no. 27.

First measurement and evaluation of masonry for the Palazzo Borghese measured by Ponzio, Giovanni Antonio Pomis, and Carlo Lambardi: first room attached to the old palace (toward the present big Piazza Borghese); second room; new entrance; third room (beyond the entrance). Façade toward the court.

P.^{ma} Misura et stima de lavori di muro fatti di tutta robba ecetto la calce bianca da m.^{ro} Gio: Angelo della Bella, et m.^{ro} Angelo de Quadris m.^{ri} Girolamo et Agostino Gessi compagni al Palazzo delli... Borghesi Misurati da noi Flaminio Pontio Gio: Antonio de Pomis, et Carlo Lambardi Periti deputati... misurato et scritto d'accordo con noi sud.ⁱ... stimato conforme a patti et convenzioni fatte d'accordo...

Prima Camera attaccata al Palazzo vecchio

Muro della facciata denanzi di tevolozze... sino a tutta l'altezza del dado di trevertino del piano di sopra nobile...

Muro del tramezzo che divide la prima camera con la 2^a che seguita...

2^{da} Camera...

Andito overo entrata nova

Muro della facciata denanzi dove e la porta grande...

Muro del tramezzo che divide l'andito con la 3^a stanza...

Muro di tevolozze fatto sopra alli pilastri di trevertino verso la loggia...

3^a stanza Passato l'Andito

Muro del tramezzo che divide d.^a stanza fatto di tevolozze verso la Casa dove sta il sig.^r Enea...

Tramezzo che divide le Camere dalla Loggia Facciata verso il Cortile sopra le Colonne

Muro de n.º sei archi de mattoni sopra alli archi di trevertino...

Facciata del Cortile dove sono le Colonne

Per la mettitura de numero 12 Colonne di granito

∇ 30.

Per la mettitura de numero 7 catene di ferro che tengono la volta della loggia...

∇ 4.92

Somma tutta La sud.ª p.ª misura fatta d'accordo da m.ª Flaminio Pontio, et Carlo

Lambardi et m.ª Gio: Antonio de Pomis sotto scritti d'accordo...

∇ 2520.32

Carlo Lambardi mano pp.ª

Io Giov. Ant. Pomis mano pp.

13. 1606 - 25 October. AB-306, no. 27.

Second measurement of masonry from the piano nobile to the roof. First room next to the old building; second room; chapel; room beyond the chapel; roof over this. On facade, 14 windows; 7 mezzanine windows; 139 palmi of the large cornice, and the stuccoing of this except for the places occupied by attic windows and by the eagles and dragons.

2.ª Misura, et stima de lavori di tutta robba... da m.ª Gio Angelo della Bella... mur.ª al Palazzo dell... Borghesi dal piano nobile... sino al tetto...

Prima stanza accanto la fabbrica vecchia

2.ª stanza che seguita

Cappella che seguita

2 3.ª Camera passata la Cappella

3 Tetto fatto sopra a d.ª fabrica...

∇ 262.65

5 Facciata di Fuori

Per la mettitura di n.º 14 finestre... delli quali ne resta a metter doi...

∇ 14.

Per la mettitura di... 7 mezanini piccoli nel fregio sotto la cornice...

∇ 2.10

Per l'agietto della cornice grande... longo palmi 139...

∇ 62.50

Per il fregio stuccato... difalcato li mezanini et Aquile et Draghi

∇ 1.

7 Summario

∇ 2675.76

(Signed Lambardi and Pomis)

14. 1606 - 15 November. AB-4168.

Measurement of stonework for the new arcade on the ground floor of the court, including 12 Doric capitals Stonework for the arcade above. The joint between the old arcade and the new one on the ground floor. Carving new keystones with 3 eagles and 3 dragons on the new arches (1 old arch with the Deza keystone was left, 1 was rebuilt). In the center of the garden: a fountain with 2 basins, one above the other.

A di 22. di febraro insino a di 15. di Novembre 1606-

Misura dell'opera di scarpello della fabrica del Palazzo... Borghesi... da m.ª Erminio de Judici scarpellino, misurato 2.ª li patti, et prezzi de Capitoli fatti...

Nella loggia nova al piano del Cortile

Basamenti, et pilastri di trevertino sop.ª nel muro della loggia nova, et andito dell'entrata nova...

Base delle colonne di detta loggia fatte di novo, tonde isolate n.º 11...

Capitelli Dorici sopra alle colonne di d.ª loggia n.º 12 fatti di novo...

Cimase isolate all'imposta degli archi di d.ª loggia n.º cinque...

Pilastro isolato del cantone dove fa la risvolta...

Cimasa sopra d.º pilastro che fa doi faccie con la risvolta...

Archi intavolati di detta loggia fatti di novo n.º 6 con suoi serraglij...

Nella 2.ª Loggia nova sop.ª la sudetta al pian nobile

Zoccoli sotto li piedestalli delle colonne in d.ª loggia n.º 4...

Base tonde isolate sotto le colonne di d.ª loggia n.º 6...

2 Lavori fatti che restano à mettersi in opera

Balaustri di trevertino n.º 24. fatti per li parapetti della loggia nova al 2.º pian nobile...

Cimase di trevertino isolate n.º 3. che vanno sopra à detti Balaustri...

3	Lavori de stime, che seguono messi à Denari Nella Loggia nova al piano del Cortile		
	Per haver fatto una giunta di novo sotto alla 2. ^a colonna...	∇	7.44
4	Per haver fatto cinque busi sopra le cimase nove all'imposta delli archi di detta loggia dove si sono messi li paletti delle catene, et fatto similmente un buso nella cimasa vecchia del 2. ^o arco vecchio di d. ^a loggia...	∇	.45
	Per l'intaglio de tre Aquile, et tre Draghi... nelli 6. serraglij nella cima delli archi novi...	∇	8.10
6	Nel Giardino di detto Palazzo		
	Per il zoccolo di trevertino sotto il balaustro della fontana del giardino, lavorato, quadro largo p. 2 e p. 2 alto p. 1...	∇	.80
	Per il Balaustro di marmo di detta fontana alto p. 2 3/4 lavorato tondo... di diametro p. 1 1/3...	∇	7.22
	Per la tazza di trevertino di d. ^a fontana, tonda lavorata larga di diametro p. 4 1/4 alta p. 1 1/12 et con sopra un'altra tazzetta di mezzo attaccato tutta d'un pezzo dove butta l'acqua...	∇	10.
	Per quattro stelle di trevertino, nel pavimento attorno, a d. ^a fontana... con un buso per stella per scolar l'acqua del d. ^o pavimento...	∇	1.20
7	Lavori fatti che sono fuori di opera		
	Per un balustro di trevertino tondo quale serviva alla fontana di mezzo del giardino...	∇	2.
	(Total)	∇	1771.09
	(Signed Pomis)		

15. 1606 - 11 December. AB-306, no. 27.

Third measurement of masonry, including the 7 arches of the court on the piano nobile, the installation of 13 columns, bases, capitals, 7 stone arches, and the corner pilaster.

3. ^a	Misura de lavori di muro...		
	Alla 2. ^a loggia nova al piano nobile		
	Muro de n. ^o 7 archi de mattoni sopra li archi di trevertino di detta loggia...		
	Per la mettitura in opera delle Colonne di detta 2. ^a loggia n. ^o 13...	∇	32.50
	Per la mettitura de conci di trevertino di d. ^a loggia, cioè... Base, et Capitelli... et li 7 Archi di trevertino... compreso il Pilastro isolato del cantone...	∇	35.83
	Somma...	∇	258.34
	(Signed Lambardi and Pomis)		

16. 1607 - 15 February. AB-306, no. 27.

Fourth measurement of masonry: work on the new loggia on the third (top) floor toward the court, including new pilasters and bases joining onto the old ones. New roof for the new loggia on the piano nobile.

4. ^a	Misura dell'opera di muro...		
	Alla Loggia nova al 3. ^o piano di sopra verso il Cortile		
	Muro delli sette piedistalli sotto alli pilastri di d. ^a Loggia...		
	Muro del mezzo pilastro fatto in d. ^a Loggia accanto il pilastro vecchio nel cantone verso la loggia vecchia...		
2	Alle stanze nove al Pian nobile		
	Tetto novo impianellato fatto sopra detta Loggia... cominciando dal confino del tetto vecchio sino al fine di d. ^a Loggia nova p. 131 1/2...		
5	(Total)	∇	290.85

17. 1607 - 17 October. AB-4168.

Masonry and stucco work. Installation of new stone window frames in the old part of the court facade toward the stairs, stuccoing of 10 Doric capitals of the pilasters in the loggia there, installation of travertine bases beneath the pilasters, etc.

Misura de lavori di muro et di stucco della fabrica... da mro Agostino Giesso muratore... doppoi la mesura fatta sotto il di 27 di luglio prox.º passato..

2	Muri di Tevolozze Alla loggia vecchia verso le scale Muro remurato dietro la nicchia in d.º cortile verso la loggia...		
4	Lavori che seguono de stime messi à Denari		
6	Nella stanza acanto landito novo verso Ripetta Per lagietto et abozzatura del quadro di stucco fatto sotto la volta di d.ª stanza... Per doi Aquile et doi Draghi grandi nelle quattro cantonate di d.º quadro...	∇	6.57 30.
7	Alla loggia vecchia al Pian di Terra verso le scale Per la mettitura delli concì di trevertino piani che fanno telaro attorno alle 5 finestre de cantina tra li vani delli archi...	∇	30.
9	Per la stucca.ª de n.º 10 capitelli dorici sopra li pilastri di d.ª loggia... Per la mettitura in opera de n.º 12 base di trevertino sotto li pilastri di d.ª...	∇	7. 4.
	(Total)	∇	242.38
10	(Signed Pomis)		

18. 1607 - 17 December. AB-4168.

Sixth measurement of stucco work, etc., in the old loggia opposite the new one. On the third (top) floor, the installation and stuccoing of 33 capitals and bases on the old pilasters, and the execution of a false balustrade of painted stucco between. Additions made to the old pilasters to make them correspond to the new ones opposite.

(6ª) Misura della opera de stucchi et altri... alle loggie vecchie del Cortile di d.º Palazzo rincontro le loggie nove...

	Alla 3.ª loggia ultima di sopra verso il Cortile Per l'agietto de mattoni de n.º 33 capitelli fatti nelle pilastri di d.ª loggia... e murati nelli pilastri vechij...	∇	14.85
	Per la stuccatura de n.º 33 capitelli corinthij... simili alli altri della loggia nova rincontro mont.º	∇	39.60
	Per l'abozzatura et stuccatura di marmoro del dado che fa basamento sotto li d.ª pilastri...	∇	4.67
2	Per la colla di stucco depinta dove sono fatti li balaustri finti nelli parapetti per di fora di d.ª loggia... Alla loggia del Pian Nobile sotto la sudetta	∇	1.01
	Per la bozzatura et stucca.ª di stucco di trevertino della cornice sopra alla loggia di mezzo al 3.º piano nella facciata difora verso il Cortile sotto il gocciolatore di trevert.º...	∇	7.
	Per la stuccatura del frescio sotto d.ª cornice...	∇	90.
	Per la bozzatura et stuccatura del Architrave sotto detto frescio...	∇	12.74
	Per la bozzatura et stucca.ª de n.º 4 triangoli intieri et doi mezzi tra li archi...	∇	17.52
3	Agietti refatti alli pilastri della 3.ª loggia ult.ª di sopra Per haver refoderato il zoccolo sotto alli cinque piedistalli vechij di d.ª pilastri... per ringrossarli et redurli simili a quelli della loggia nova rincontro...	∇	1.59
4	Per haver ringrossato li pilastri n.º 4 intieri e doi mezzi... per esser che erano piu stretti et sottili delli pilastri della loggia nova rincontro refoderati di grossezza attorno...	∇	4.
	(Total)	∇	203.60
	(Signed Pomis)		

19. 1608 - 22 April. AB-4168.

Measurement of stonework on the facade toward what is now the large Piazza Borghese; travertine socle on ground floor; 10 windows on ground floor and above; quoining.

New arcade closing the court and joining with the old loggia. 4 sham windows below, corresponding with the basement windows; niches above; door in the center of the loggia; 13 new column bases. New gate toward the Ripetta.

A di 22 di settembre 1607 sino a di 22 Aprile 1608

Misura dell'opera di scarpello della fabrica nova del Palazzo (de')... Borghesi... fatto d.^{to} lavoro da m.^{ro}. Stefano Longo scarpellino di tutta robba mesurati come in questa distintamente appare E prima

Nella facciata denanzi della strada che va à Ripetta

Zoccolo di trevertino nella facciata denanzi al pian di terra della fabrica della sala nova, et che segue dove habitava il sig.^r Enea...

Finestre n.^o x in d.^a facciata alle stanze al pian terra... con suoi finestre di cantina sotto...

Finestre intavolate n.^o 10 alle stanze del 3.^o piano stipiti architravi, e cornice...

Piedestalli piani delle cantonate in d.^a facciata n.^o 3...

Bugno plane... una sop.^a l'altra...

Golarino che fa finimento sopra...

Alla loggia nova che requadra il Cortile in testa al pian terra et pilastri Basamenti delli contrapilastrini nel m.^o di d.^a loggia nova che requadra il Cortile et rivolta verso la loggia vecchia et suoi pilastri sopra...

Finestre finte plane nelli muri di d.^a loggia che accompagnano le finestre di cantina n.^o 4...

Soglie n.^o 5 sopra le d.^o finestre sotto le nicchie...

Soglia sotto la porta in mezzo d.^a loggia per andar verso il giard.^{no}...

2 Base Isolate tonde n.^o 13 per le colonne di d.^a loggia...

Alle stanze del pian Nobile verso il giardino

Nella sala, è stanze di detto pian Nobile verso la strada

Alle stanze al pian di Terra verso la strada

Una porta che viene dalla loggietta acanto la lumaca grande et va verso la loggia vecchia intavolata...

3 Nella facciata delle stanze verso il giardino

Nel Corritore che va dalla lumaca grande alli mezanini

4 Alla loggia vecchia al pian di Terra

Basamenti, et pilastri sopra di trevertino delli contra pilastri fatti di novo nel muro di d.^a loggia...

Un mezanino piano nella loggia denanzi la lumaca grande dove sono le statue...

5 Al Portone fatto di novo verso Ripetta

Zoccoli et Basamenti de pilastri Bugne, et stipiti piani a bugne di detto portone insieme (:)

p. 770 - pietra rustica

p. 25 1/2 - pelle scorniciata

p. 570 1/2 - pelle piana

6 Lavori che seguono de stime messe à Denari

9 Per piu pezzi de lastre, messe che fanno finimento sopra le bugne di d.^o portone rustiche quad.^{to}...

∇ 1.25

Per la spaccatura della soglia di granito al detto portone longa p. 16 larga p. 2 1/2 et spianata sopra di fattura quadrato p. 40

∇ 8.

Per la ferratura del cancano che tiene l'Arme sopra il d.^o portone con suo pezzo di pietra sopra

∇ 1.50

Per p. 70 di lastre di trevertino sotto il gocciolatore della Cornice di detto portone

∇ 7.

Per...guide di trevert.^o che sono nel mezzo della sallita denanzi d.^o portone...

∇ 16.59

10 (Total)

∇ 3183.06

(Signed Pomis)

20. 1608 - 6 May. AB-4168.

Masonry work behind the palace dividing the garden from the little stable and garden next to it and from the wood yard.

Misura de lavori di muro fatti da m.^{ro} Aurelio di Mariotti muratore al Cortile della legna et muro novo dietro al m.^o della loggia nova del Palazzo (de')... Borghesi...

Al giard.^{no} acanto il muro della loggia nova
Muro che divide d.º giard.^{no} dalla staletta, et giardinetto acanto . . .

Al Cortile della legna
Muro che divide d.º giard.^{no} dal cancello della legna . . .

(Total)

∇ 94.72

(Signed Pomis)

21. 1608 - 12 May. AB-4168.

Masonry work for the new rooms in the old apartment occupied by Enea Orlandini, and the enclosure of the courtyard. New foundations following the old foundation line of the Orlandini house (the Palazzo Farnese-Poggio-del Giglio). New rooms near the spiral stair. New foundations for the courtyard toward the Via di Monte d'Oro lengthening the old 5 bay arcade to 7, etc. Rebuilding the old rooms of the Orlandini house. Belvedere (now destroyed) over the old rooms toward Monte d'Oro (cf. Fig. 63); work on the spiral stair; rear facade of the bridge loggia of the courtyard.

A di 18 Settembre 1607 insino adi 12 di Maggio 1608

Misura dell'opera di muro, et altri lavori della fabrica del Palazzo delli . . . Borghesi . . . da m.^{no} Dóm.^{co} Corto, et m.^{no} Gio. Angelo della Bella et m.^{no} Giacomo de Mola. . . cioè la fabrica della sala nova, et stanze fatte nell'Appartem.^{to} vecchio dove habitava il sig.^r Enea Orlandini et la risvolta che requadra il Cortile di d.^{to} Palazzo mesurati come in questa destintamente Appare E p.^a

Muri di Pietra

Fondamenti, et altri muri di pietra

Muro del fond.^o della facciata denanzi della sala nova verso la strada che va verso Ripetta lon. p. 80 1/2 . . .

Muro di un pezzo di fond.^o che segue per d.^a linea fatto acanto il fond.^o vecchio delle Case che habitava il sig. Enea lon. p. 25 . . .

Muro del fondamento che segue per d.^a linea lon. p. 35 1/4 . . .

2 Muro del fond.^o di un pezzo sotto al tramezzo che divide le doi stanze nove sotto la sala una dall'altra. . .

Muro del restante della longhezza di d.^o fond.^o che divide d.^a p.^a et 2^a stanza dalla lumaca grande, et loggia . . .

Muro del fondamento di un pezzo sotto il tramezzo che divide la 2^a stanza nova sotto la sala verso le stanze vecchie . . .

3 Muro del fond.^o di un pezzo sotto il muro della risvolta che requadra il cortile dove va il colonnato comenciando dal cantone verso la cucina lon. p. 25 . . . della loggia vecchia ingiu p. 30 . . .

Muro del fondamento fatto per alongare il Cortile dalla banda verso le Cucine lon. p. 31 . . .

4 Muro del fond.^o di un pezzo che revolta la loggia nova verso la loggia vecchia longo p. 28 1/4 . . .

Muro del fond.^o fatto sotto il muro refondato nella facciata della loggia vecchia del giardino della casa vecchia dove habitava il sig. Enea . . .

Muro del fond. sotto il muro refoderato al tramezzo ultimo verso Ripetta. . .

Muro di pietra simile che resta sotto il muro di tevolozze della facciata denanzi che segue per d.^a linea che si è fatto acanto il m.^o vecchio della casa dove habitava . . . Enea . . .

5 Alle stanze nove sotto la sala grande . . .

6 Alle stanze vecchie dove habitava . . . Enea al Pian Terra

Muro di una porta remurata nella fa: denanzi per di dentro quale era la porta della remessa . . .

Muro di una porta remurata della remessa acanto il Cortile della legna . . . compreso quello che va sotto terra . . .

Al Pian Nobile Nella sala nova grande

Muro di pietra del tramezzo che divide detta sala dalle stanze vecchie dove habitava . . . Enea . . .

7 Alla loggia nova verso Ripetta

Muro di pietra sotto il muro de mattoni delli archi, et pilastri di d.^a loggia long. ins.^e p. 140 3/4 al.^o p. 3 1/4 . . .

8 Muri di Tevolozze

Alle stanze sotto la sala nova al Pian de Terra (and others)

12 Alle stanze vecchie verso la strada dove habita il sig.^r Enea

Prima stanza acanto la sala Nova al d.^o Pian Nobile

Muro di una foderata refoderata nel tramezzo vecchio che divide con la stanza acanto verso il giard.^{no} . . .

- 13 Quarta stanza et ult.^a della Torre verso Ripetta
Muro de una finestra remurata in d.^a stanza quale e stata lasciata prima acanto l'altre fatta di novo...
Muro della fodera realzata sopra la già mesurata nella fa. denanzi verso Ripetta per di dentro di
d.^a stanza rengrossata dietro il muro vecchio...
- 15 Alle stanze de mezanini sotto le d.^e verso il Giardino
P.^o mezanino verso la Fabrica nova
Secondo mezanino che segue il d.^o
(*doors and windows walled up*)
Muro de cinque pilastri murati per difora nella facciata del giard.^{no} tra una finestra et l'altra...
- 19 Alla lumaca nova grande
- 21 Alla loggia nova al Pian Terra che requadra il Cortile
Muro della facciata di dietro di d.^a loggia... dal muro della lumaca sino al muro che risvolta d.^a
loggia...
Muro che risvolta il d.^o...
- 23 Alla loggia vecchia al pian Terra verso il Giard.^{no}
Muro remurato di tevolezze in tre vani de archi di d.^a loggia... sino all'imposta delli archi che
erano a d.^a loggia...
Muro di tevolezze refoderato per difora denanzi alli tre pilastri...
- 24 Muri di Mattoni
- 26 Alla loggia nova sopra le stanze vecchie verso Ripetta.
Muro delli pilastri, et archi della facciata di d.^a loggia sopra il tramezzo che divide le stanze denanzi
con le stanze dietro verso il giard.^{no}...
Alle stanze a tetto verso il giard.^{no}...
Muro delli cinque Archi de mattoni refatti sopra d.^e finestre de mezanini...
Alle stanze al Pian Terra
Muro di un arco fatto sopra 1^a finestra della 2^a stanza vecchia verso la scaletta...
- 35 Lavori che segueno de lavori diversi messi à Denari
- 47 Alla loggia fatto dinovo sopra ale stanze che habitava il sig. Enea
- (Total) ∇ 9829.83
- (Signed Pomis)

22. 1608 - 4 July. AB-4168.

Second measurement of masonry. Work on spiral stair and new arcades of court. Masonry of upper arches of bridge loggia. Small spiral stair near the (destroyed) loggetta in the corner of the spiral stair. Installation of 63 travertine steps in the spiral stair, etc.

- 2.^a Misura de lavori di muro... fatti... da ms.^{no} Domenico Corto... doppoi l'altra... fatta sotto
il di 18 di settembre, 1607 sino a di 12 di Maggio...
- 2 Muri di Tevolezze
Alla lumaca nova grande
Alla loggia nova che requadra intesta il Cortile
- 3 Muri di Mattone
Alla loggia nova al Pian Nobile
Muro del parapetto che se era fatto denanzi che vi requadrasse il Cortile e poi se è disfatto...
Muro de n.^o 7 Archi de mattoni...
Muro de tre altri mezzi triangoli in detti archi compreso quelli della loggia nova che risvolta verso la
loggia vecchia...
- 7 Alle stanze nove sotto la sala...
Stanza acanto d.^a verso l'entrata
Per la mettitura del camino alla francese di trevert.^o in d.^a stanza...
- 8 Alla lumachetta piccola acanto d.^a loggietta
Per la mettitura de n.^o 92 scalini di pep.^o a colonna vota di d.^a lumachetta...
Alla loggietta che viene dalla lumaca grande alli mezanini
Per haver rotto e fatto la porta che va dalla loggietta alla lumachetta...

10	Alla lumaca nova grande	
	Per la mettitura de n.º 63 scalini di trevert.º a detta lumaca ...	
11	(Total)	∇ 892.69
	(Signed Pomis)	

23. 1608 - 20 July. AB-4168.

Travertine cut for spiral stair: 26 columns and capitals, balustrade, steps, etc.

Lavoro di scarpello di trevertino di tutta robba fatto da m.^{ro} Fran.^{co} Luchesino, et m.^{ro} Gio. Pietro Pichetti compagni scarpellini alla scala lumacha fatta di novo...

	Per ... 26 Colonne in d. ^a scala delle quale ... 18 sono di altezza p. 9 1/2 luna et ... 8 alte p. 9 3/4 ... et con suoi base, et Capitelli et piumaccioli sopra li Capitelli ...	∇ 234.
	Cornice Architravata di d. ^a scala in pezzi n.º 7 ...	∇ 162.15
	Per ... 36 piumaccioli sotto li piedi delli balaustri ...	∇ 10.80
2	(50 balaustri, Cimase sopra, 55 scalini, etc.)	
	Per ... 8 altri scalini che seguono in fondo d. ^a scala che scendono alla loggia che va alla loggia del giard. ^{no} ...	∇ 34.80
	Per un altro scalino a piedi di d. ^{ti} ...	∇ 3.71
4	(Total)	∇ 1264.10
	(Signed only by scarpellino)	

24. 1608 - 26 July. AB-4168.

Fourth measurement of stonework. New loggia closing the court: 12 capitals, 7 arches, cornice, etc.

4. ^a	Misura de lavori di scarpello fatti da m. ^{ro} Stefano Longo ...	
	Alla Loggia nova in testa che requadra il Cortile	
	Pilastro del cantone dove risvolta d. ^a loggia isolato ...	
	Capitelli dorici n.º 12 sopra le Colonne ...	
	Archi intavolati n.º 7 ...	
	Cornice che corre al pian nobile di d. ^a loggia ...	
	Piedestalli ... 5 tra li balaustri	
	Una basa quale va sotto la Colonna al pian terra che non è messa in opera ...	
	Alla loggia vecchia verso Il Giard. ^{no}	
	Doi zoccoletti sotto la porta che va alla loggia nova ...	
	Un scalino di trevert.º a piedi d. ^a porta ...	
2	Quattro scalini alla porta che va alla lumachetta in d. ^a loggia	
	Alla loggia al Pian Nobile	
	Dado piano sotto li balaustri del parapetto ...	
	Alla loggia nova al Pian Nobile verso il giard. ^{no}	
	Doi scalini di trevert.º denanzi la balaustrata ...	
	Balaustri n.º 8 al parapetto ...	
	Alla loggia nova al Pian Nobile	
	Zoccoli piani sotto li balaustri in vani ... 7 di d. ^a ...	
	Balaustri n.º 56 ...	
3	Lavori che seguono de stime messi a Denari	
	Alla loggia nova al Pian Terra che requadra il Cortile	
	Per haver scortato n.º sei colonne di granito di diametro p. 1 1/2 spianate	∇ 4.50
	Per haver recentinato cinque di d. ^o colonne ...	∇ 16.80
	Per haver scortato la colonna di marmo cipollino	∇ .75
	Per haver quadrato ... 5 colonne et repicciato sopra ...	∇ 2.
	Per l'intaglio de ... 4 Aquile et tre draghi nelli seraglij delli Archi	∇ 9.45
5	(Total)	∇ 929.63
	(Signed Pomis)	

25. 1608 - 27 July. AB-4168.

Measurement of masonry and stucco for the new gate outside the palace toward Ripetta, on the site of the cancello della legna.

Walls, arch, etc. Installation of travertine. Rusticated blocks, pilasters, architrave, capitals, segmental pediment above, stucco eagle in the center, scaffolding for installation of travertine arms of Paul V.

Misura de lavori di muro, et di stucco fatto da m.^{ro} Angelo de Quadris muratore Al Portone fatto di novo denanzi il sito del Palazzo... dove p.^a era il Cancellò della legna nella strada maestra à Ripetta...

Al Portone fatto di novo verso Ripetta

Muri di Pietra

Muro del p.^o pezzo di fond.^o fatto a d.^o portone dalla banda verso la strada che va al Palazzo... long. p. 20 fondo dal piano della strada ingiu...

Muro del altro pezzo di fond.^o... verso s.^{to} Geronimo...

Muro del Masiccio che fa padiglione denanzi d.^o

Portone di pietra quad.^{to}...

Muri di Tevolozze

Muro del arco fatto tra li sud.^{ti} fond.^{ti} lon. p. 7 alt. incima p. 5 1/2 gr.^o p. 7 1/4...

Muro sopra... che fa zoccolo...

Muro sopra il d.^o che fa li doi pilastri lon. tutti doi ins.^e p. 31 alt. sino sopra l'imposta del arco p. 19...

Muro sopra d.^o che fa l'arco et finim.^{to} a d.^a porta... si defalca per l'arco...

Muro respiano sopra il frontespitio sotto il tetto per far la pendenza...

2 Muro fatto dove sono li cartelloni... tutte doi le bande...

Muro di una Cartella fatta dietro all'Arme dove stanno li festoni che fanno hornam.^{to} a d.^a Arme...

Muro realzato che fa cappello dalla banda verso S. Gironimo lon. p. 235 alt. dal di sotto del dado sino in cima p. 2 1/2 grosso p. 2...

Muro realzato dall'altra banda...

Muro fatto della doi Cartelle dalle 2 bande di d.^o Portone sopra il muro...

Lavori che seguono de stime messi à Denari

Per la mettitura delle conchi di trevert.^o a d.^o Portone...

∇ 12.83

Per l'agietto delli bugne che fanno cantonata...

∇ 9.74

Per l'agietto abozzatura e stucca.^{ra} delle 12 bugne tra le cantonate a li stipiti...

∇ 4.84

Per l'agietto abozza.^{ra} stucca.^{ra} delli doi pilastri che fanno pilastri et membretti sopra quelli di trevert.^o...

∇ 3.63

3 Per l'agietto abozzatura, et stucca.^{ra} delle bugne che fanno l'Arcone di fora tra un pilastro et l'altro...

∇ 6.36

Per l'agietto abozzatura et stucc.^{ra} del Architrave... p. 70 compreso quello fatto denanzi...

∇ 7.86

Per l'agietto abozzatura et stucca.^{ra} delli doi capitelli sopra li pilastri...

∇ 3.

Per l'agietto del frescio... sopra...

∇ 1.12

Per l'agietto abozzatura e stucc.^{ra} della Cornice...

∇ 20.10

Per l'agietto abozzatura della cornice del frontespitio tondo sopra d.^o Portone...

∇ 28.

Per la Colla fatta nel sordino di d.^o...

∇ .60

Per haver fatto in d.^o sordino un Aquilone stuccato di stucco di trevert.^o alt. p. 6 1/2

∇ 3.50

4 Per l'agietto abozzatura e stucca.^{ra} del dado sopra all'imposta del arco et come quanto sono longhi li doi pilastri...

∇ 2.80

Per l'abozzatura e stucca.^{ra} delli doi cartelloni fatti dalle bande di d.^o portone con suoi volute dentro e fora faccie e colla...

∇ 7.

Per le doi cartelle fatte sopra li muri che restringano il Cortile per di dentro con suoi volute dentro e fora...

∇ 2.40

Per haver fatto li ponti per mettere L'Arme di trevert.^o di N. S. con la mett.^{ra} di d.^a Arme alt. p. 9 qual ponte a servito all'Intagliator per lavorar d.^a Arme...

∇ 4.50

...Cartella fatta dietro alla d.^a Arme per doi bande alt. p. 8...

∇ 1.

Per... festoni attorno d.^a Arme con ferri...

∇ 15.

Per la bozzatura et stucca.^{ra} del Aquilone fatto nell seraglio della porta sotto l'arme...

∇ 1.20

6 (Total)

∇ 503.75

(Signed Pomis)

26. 1608 - 29 July. AB 4168.

Bill for arms of Paul V carved by Vincenzo Topi, 9 palmi high, 6 wide, for the Ripetta gate.

L'Arme di N. S. fatta di trevertino, da m(esser) Vincenzo Topi intagliat.^{re} quale è messa, al Portone, novo, del sito dove era il cingello della legna, nella strada, maestra à Ripetta, gli Arme è di Altezza p. 9. larga p. 6...

∇ 75.

(Signed Pomis)

27. 1608 - 13 August. AB-4168.

Slates for roof of palace toward Ripetta purchased. Price attested by Gaspare Guerra (cf. Doc. 10) as similar to that paid for those used at S. M. in Vallicella.

...lavagne che hano servitto al Coprimento del pallasio verso rippetta del palacio... borghissi... Io Gaspare Guerra faciò fede che si sono pagati le pietre simile al mede(si)mo precio alla fabrica di santa maria in Valicella...

28. 1608 - 10 September. AB-4168.

Third measurement of masonry: minor works including a new room in the palace toward the Via di Monte d'Oro, work finishing the loggetta in the angle of the spiral stair, etc.

3.^a Misura de lavori di muro...

Muri di Pietra

Al Cortile della legna verso Ripetta fondamenti fatti per la stanza che si ha da fare di novo che segue le stanze verso il giardino...

Lavori che seguono de stime messi à Denari

11 Alla loggetta piccola che è al pian nobile verso il giardino

Per la mettitura della balaustrata che fa parapetto a d.^a loggetta...

Alla loggetta sopra la d.^a al piano a tetto che va alle stanze a tetto

15 (Total)

∇ 1037.69

(Signed Pomis)

29. 1608 - 1 October. AB-4168.

First measurement of stonecutting for the loggia closing the court, for the top floor, etc.

1.^o Misura dell'opera di scarpello di tutta robba fatta da m.^{ro} Giulio Coltrici scarpellino per la loggia nova che requadra il Cortile al pian nobile, et alle stanze del 3.^o piano delle stanze nove, et in altri lochi...

Alla loggia nova che requadra il Cortile intesta al Pian Nobile

Balaustri n.^o 40...

Doi porte di trevertino intavolate in d.^a loggia cioè una nel m.^o della loggia verso le Cucine l'altra acapo la lumaca grande a d.^o piano...

Alla scaletta che va alla loggetta a d.^o Pian Nobile (cinque scalini)

2 Un Camino... modenato alla franzese nella stanza della Torre

Finestra di trevertino piana intesta d.^a stanza verso Ripetta...

Alla loggia a tetto delli finestroni acanto la guardarobba

Soglie di trevert.^o n.^o 9 nelli vani delli archi di d.^a loggia piane

3 (Total)

∇ 526.70

(Signed Pomis)

30. 1609 - 19 February. AB-4168.

(Third) measurement of stonework: bases for columns of the court on the upper level, sculptured ornaments over the door leading to the spiral stair (Fig. 62), 6 Ionic capitals, etc.

(3.^a) Misura di lavoro di scarpello... da m.^{ro} Stefano Longo et m.^{ro} Stefano de Judici scarpellini...

Alla stanza nova al Pian Terra verso il Cortile della legna che segue la loggia vecchia

Alla loggia nova al Pian Nobile

Base tonde in detta loggia numero 6 sotto le colonne...	
Porta che va al Giard. ^{no}	
All hornam(en)ti sopra la porta della sala et lumaca	
Li Doi hornam(en)ti di d. ^o doi porte...	
Lavori che seguono de stime posti à Denari	
Alla loggia nova al Pian Nobbile	
Per... seij Capitelli Ionichi sopra le Colonne...	∇ 33.
Per haver tagliato le cimase capitello cornice et piedestallo della risvolta della loggia vecchia	∇ 8.40
All'hormam. ^{to} sopra la porta della sala, et lumaca	
Per l'intaglio delle doi Aquile che sono sotto la cornice con le Ale Aperte e corona incima...	∇ 6.
(Total)	∇ 672.69
(Signed Pomis)	

31. 1609 - 20 February. AB-4168.

Fourth measurement of masonry. Work on the new rooms and loggia toward the Via di Monte d'Oro. Work to remove columns where the loggia formerly turned the corner.

4. ^a Misura dell'opera di muro...	
Muri di tevolozze	
Alla stanza fatta di novo ultim. ^{to} verso il giard. ^{no} verso il Cortile della legna	
3 Stanza sotto la detta al Pian Terra	
Muro della facciata verso il cortile della legna...	
Muro della facciata verso il giard. ^{no} ...	
Muro remurato dietro la nicchia...	
Alla loggia nova che segue la vecchia al 3 ^o piano verso le Cucine	
8 Testi novi impianellati	
20 Alla lumaca grande	
21 Appontellature fatte per levare le colonne dove p. ^a risvoltava la loggia	
24 (Total)	∇ 2176.74
(Signed Pomis)	

32. 1609 - 11 March. AB-4168.

Second measurement of stonework.

2. ^a Misura de lavori di scarpello fatti da m. ^{to} Giulio de Coltrici scarpellino al Palazzo delli... Borghesi...	
Nel Giardino	
Doi fin. ^{re} di trevertino piane nella facciata verso il cortile della legna...	
(Total)	∇ 315.04
(Signed Pomis)	

33. 1609 - 15 April. AB-4168.

Columns carried to the palace from diverse places.

Colone che ha portato Bernardo car. ^{re} per servizio de... Borghesi per servizio del suo palazzo et prima	
Per una colona tolta da Marcho cavatore in capo a le case	
Per doi colone de biso (bigio) conpre d m. ^{to} Batista de Rosi tolti a ponte molo (molle)	
Per doi colone de granito tolti alle monice de Mote magna napoli	
Per quatro colone de granito roso tolti a S. ^{to} Pietro	
Per una colona de granito tolta ha S. ^{ta} Bibiana de li sig. ^{ri} canonici di S. ^{ta} Maria maggiore	
(Total of 10 columns)	∇ 37.
(Signed Pomis)	

34. 1609 - 29 April. AB-4168.

Second measurement of stonework on the large spiral stair: columns, etc.

2.^a Misura dell'opera di scarpello della scala lumaca grande...

Lavori che sono in opera a d.^a scala

(12 piedestalli, 17 Colonne, base, Capitelli, etc.)

2 Lavori che sono fatti, restano a mettersi in opera

(4 Colonne, 12 Balaustri, etc.)

(Total)

∇ 1070.48

(Signed Pomis)

35. 1609 - 2 July. AB-4168.

Third measurement of stonework. Door leading to the large spiral stair; door going from the street to the garden, etc.

3.^a Misura de lavori di scarpello fatti da m.^{ro} Giulio Coltrici scarpellino nel Palazzo... Burghese... fatti detti lavori dopò la 2.^a misura che fu fatta...

Alla loggia al Pian Terra

Porta intavolata che viene dal stanzione novo alla loggia...

Porta simile in d.^a loggia verso le Cucine in fa: il Cortile...

Al Giardino

Scalini di Trevertino della scala che scende dalla loggia a d.^o Giardino...

Porta All Entrare all'lumaca nova grande

Alla Porticella che viene dalla strada al Giard.^{no}

(Total)

∇ 271.57

(Signed Pomis)

36. 1609 - 15 July. AB-4168.

Statement by Flaminio Ponzio that the work of moving the three colossi under the arcades of the courtyard was worth ∇ 120.

Havendo Io sotto scritto per ord.^e dell... Ant.^o Drago M.^{ro} di Casa d(i)... Gio: Batta Borghese visto et tassato il sudetto Conto dell'opera fatta da M(esser) Gio: Belucci in trasportare dall'una all'altra Loggia et rimettono su li piedestalli nelle doi Loggie del Palazzo di S. E. tra la strada de Condotti e Ripetta le tre statue grande cioe dua nelli Archi della loggia in faccia all Entrata prin.^{le} et l'altra alla loggia in faccia all Entrata del fianco di d.^o Palazzo. Dicho che merita per tutte le sud.^e manif(attur)e... ∇ 120.

Flaminio Ponzij di mano pp.^a questo di 15 luglio 1609

37. 1609 - 18 July. AB-4168.

Two columns moved to the Palazzo Borghese.

Spesa fatta nel Condurre le doi Colonne di Granito dal Cortile delli matriciani al palazzo delli S.^{ri} Borghesi (II men, total of 3 days each, at wages ranging from ∇ .30 to ∇ .60 per diem)

(Total)

∇ 25.

(Signed Pomis)

38. 1610 - 2 September. AB-4168.

Seventh measurement of masonry. Pipes for garden fountains. Work on statue bases; installation of statues. Installation of star-shaped drain cover in center of court. Installation of the low column-stumps around the new portal on the big Piazza Borghese. Installation of 4 statues on top of the bridge loggia of the court. Work inside the palace on the installation of statues.

7. ^a	Misura de lavori di Muro . . . Al Giardino	
	Per il Cond(otto) cavato e murato che piglia il Ritorno dell'acqua della fontana del Nottolone et la Porta al Pilo di marmo nel vicolo acanto il Palazzo verso la stalla nova . . .	∇ 18.
	Per il cond. ^o cavato e murato che piglia il Ritorno dell'acqua della fontanella intesta il giard. ^{no} che divide con le logie e la Porta alla fontana de Tartari . . .	∇ 10.
2	Alle loggie nove al Piano Terra in testa il Cortile	
	Per la mett. ^{ra} della statua di marmo sopra d. ^o Piedestallo	∇ 2.
	Per la stucc. ^{ra} delli 4 piedestalli sotto le statue nelle nicchie . . .	∇ 3.
	Per la mett. ^{ra} della stella in mezzo il Cortile . . .	∇ .60
	Al Portone novo verso la Piazza nova	
	M. ^o del amattonato in cortello del Padiglione denanzi il d. ^o Portone.	∇ 26.09
	Per la mettatura in opera de n. ^o 8 Colonne di marmo attorno d. ^o padiglione. . .	∇ 6.
3	Per la mett. ^{ra} in opera de n. ^o 4 statue sopra piedestalli nella logia scoperta in testa il Cortile del Palazzo . . .	∇ 25.50
4	Alla Galleria delle statue (<i>pedestals, etc.</i>)	
5	Nel salone novo al Pian Nobbile (<i>more statues</i>)	
10	(Total)	∇ 284.94
	(Signed Pomis)	

39. 1610 - 4 December. AB-4168.

	<i>Masonry work. Installation of the portal on the large Piazza Borghese, including the arms of Paul V.</i>	
	Lavori diversi di muro . . . alla Cucina grande et alle case nella strada del monte d'oro dietro d. ^o Palazzo . . .	
	Per haver portato . . . 8. pezzi di sassi tre pezzi di colonne di granito, et marmi quali prima erano denanzi il Palazzo . . .	∇ .80
	All'ornamento sopra il Portone	
	Per la mett. ^{ra} in opera dell'ornam. ^o di d. ^o Portone di trevert. ^o cioè con suoi piedestalli pilastri sop. ^a con sue base capitelli, et membretti dalle bande, et arco sop. ^a con suo architrave fregio, Cornice, et frontespizio quad. ^{to} . . . con haver tagliato li muri per mettere d. ^o ornamento et poi murati monta	∇ 39.
2	Per la mett. ^a in opera dell'arme di N. S. di marmo . . . fatti à viso d'occhio . . .	∇ 45.
4	Al Portone novo verso la Piazza nova	
	Per l'agetto e stucc. ^a delli doi membretti Capitelli architrave fregio Cornice . . .	∇ 3.30
7	(Total)	∇ 180.86
	(Signed Pomis)	

40. 1610 - 4 December. AB-4168.

	<i>Masonry work. Clearing the new big Piazza Borghese and leveling it for a second time.</i>	
	Misura de lavori di muro fatti . . . al Palazzo . . . et nella Piazza nova Borghesa. . .	
	Al muro novo fatto in d. ^o Palazzo che divide con il Giardino del S. ^{re} Conte Santinello, et con la casa di m. Prospero Ferro	
	Muri sopra Terra	
	Muro sopra detto fond. ^{to} che divide il giardino del S. ^r Conte dalla detta Piazza nova . . .	
2	Al muro fatto à Canto la stalla nova in d. ^a Piazza	
	Al muro novo verso la piazza nova	
4	Per la portat. ^{ra} di tutti li mattoni che erano amezzo il muro di detta Piazza delle case ruinate, et portati, et accomodati nella stalla nova . . .	∇ 17.12
	Segue à di P. ^o di febraro 1611	
6	Per haver spianato la piazza nova Borghesia dopo che fu spianata l'altra volta . . .	∇ 27.30
7	(Total)	∇ 466.78
	(Signed Pomis)	

41. 1612 – 11 September. AB-306, no. 14.

Masonry work: clearing the ruins of the old houses from the Piazza Borghese.

Misura de lavori di Muro fatti da m.^{ro} Dom.^{co} del Corto murat.^{re} di Tutta robba ecetto la Tevolozza e matt. vechij quali sono de quelli delle Ruine delle Case disfatte fatti detti lavori per . . Marco Antonio Borghese nelle Case compre da sua Ecc.^{za} acapo et apiedi la sud.^a Piazza Burghesa . . .

Alla Remessa de Cochij acapo la Piazza nova

Nella Casa che habita il s.^r Fran.^o Ceoli verso la Piazza de Monte d'oro

(Total)

∇ 31.25

(Signed Pomis)

42. 1612 – October. AB-307, no. 67.

Contract with masons for the new wing of the Palazzo Borghese toward Ripetta, to be executed according to the direction of the ministers of the building and the architect.

A di (*blank*) di ottobre 1612

Capitoli et patti da osservare dalli sottoscritti capi mastri muratori per l'opera di muro della fabrica da farsi di novo al Palazzo . . . Borghese che seguita la facciata nova di detto Palazzo verso Ripetta . . . conforme alli patti, è prezzi che nelli p(re)se)nti Capitoli sarà dichiarato qual opera si farà secondo che dalli Ministri di S. Ecc.^{za} et Architetto sarà ordinato . . .

(Document refers often to the "Ministri della fabrica" and to the "Architetto della fabrica")

43. 1612 – 8 November; 13 January 1613, et seq. AB-4168.

First measurement of masonry for the new building. Foundations measured on 8 Novembre 1612; destruction of the Ripetta gate (cf. Doc. 25); walls above ground: the facade toward the street going to Ripetta; the portal toward Ripetta. Work on the piano nobile, etc.

A' di 13. di Gennaro. 1613 sino à di (*blank*)

P.^a Misura, è stima dell'Opera di Muro della fabrica nuova, che fa fare l'Ecc.^{mo} Signor Principe Marc'Antonio Borghese, che seguita la fabrica fatta, qual'fa testa verso Ripetta fatta di tutta robba da mas.^{ro} Angelo Pozzi, Mastro Marc'Antonio Fontana, Mas.^{ro} Batta Bosso, Mas.^{ro} Domenico Andreotti Compagni Capomastri mur.^{ti} Misurata, et stimata dà Noi sottoscritti Deputati conforme alli Capitoli; e Prima.

Fondamenti misurati Prima cavati dall'Libro . . .

A' di 8. di Novembre. 1612.

Muro del' fond.^{to} fatto per la facc.^{ta} dinanzi del' Palazzo, che segue la facciata fatta verso la strada, che va verso Ripetta lon. p. 35 . . .

Muro di un'pezzo, che risvolta sotto il fond.^{to} della facc.^{ta} vecchia lo. in gross.^{za} del fond.^{to} p. 10 1/4 . . .

I v Muro del' fondamento, che seguita il retro d.^o per la sud.^a linea dinanzi per la detta strada lon. p. 26 1/4 . . .

Muro del fondamento che seguita la facciata dinanzi, dove risvolta l'Angolo lon. p. 25 1/2 . . .

Muro di un pezzo di fond.^{to} nella facc.^a della strada, che va alla Piazza del monte d'oro, qual'comincia acanto il m.^o vecchio che divide col'Giardino nella facc.^{ta} dinanzi di detta strada, & segue per d.^a linea à basso verso Ripetta lo. p. 84 1/2 fondo dal' piano della cima, delle soglie . . . del' Palazzo, dell'Inquisitione vecchia ingiù rig.^o p. 36 5/8 . . .

(and much more foundation work)

3 Qui finiscono li fondamenti notati prima nel libro

Partite, che seguono, Misurate da noi sottoscritti

Muro del fondamento, che divide il giuoco della Palla dal Curritore . . .

Per haver trasportato p. 1 1/4 le tre finestre di cantina sotto il detto giuoco verso la strada del Monte d'oro da una banda tagliato, dall'altra cresciuto . . .

4 (*Vault for giuoco della palla*)

4 v Per haver guasto il muro per mettere li condotti bastardi, che portano l'Acqua dal giard.^o

pensole (pensile) à basso n.^o 3 . . .

∇ 2.62

5	Muro del'fondam. ^o del tramezzo, che divide la Cucina dalla stanza del sciacquatore. . .		
6	Per duoi giornate de Pozzato messe à cavar l'Acqua, che era cresciuta in detto fondam. ^o . . .	∇	2.
6 v	Muro del massiccio cresciuto sopra la volta sotto l'ovato per mettere inpiano . . .		
10 v	M ^o del fond. ^o della facc. ^{ta} dinanzi nella strada m. ^{ra} di Ripetta . . .		
11 v	Per la levat. ^{ra} di opera delli conci de Tev. ^o , et guide della cordonata inanzi al portone, che si è buttato à terra nella strada diritta di Ripetta . . .	∇	9.70
	Per haver calato à basso l'arme Papale di Tev. ^o , che era sopra d. ^o Portone . . .	∇	3.50
12	Muri sopra terri		
15	Muro della facc. ^{ta} di fuori la strada, che dalla piazza nuova va à Ripetta lon. dalla fabbrica vecchia sino à tutta la Bugnia, dove fa la piegha p. 66 3/4 . . .		
15 v	Piano delli Mezzanili		
20 v	Muri dell'Entrone		
21 v	M. ^o di pietra della facc. ^{ta} denanzi su la piazza di Ripetta lo. tra le 2. cantonate mis. ^{te} p. 42 . . . se ne difalcha il portone lon. g. ^o rig. ^o con le spallette di teolozza p. 19. alt. con l'arco sopra p. 30 . . .		
24 v	Muri del Piano Nobile		
25 v	Muro del Pentagono, dov'è dentro la lumacha . . . M. ^o del triangoletto, che nasce tra il d. ^o , et la fab. ^{ca} vecchia . . .		
26	M. ^o sopra li 4. pilastri di tev. ^o della loggia. . .		
26 v	Muri sopra li 3. Archi di tev. ^o . . . Muro della volta sopra la loggia fatta a scifo, et lunette . . .		
32	Summario. . .		∇ 14,635.25
	Io Ant. ^o di Battisti mano pp. ^a		
	Io Gasparo Vecchi mano pp. ^a		

44. 1613 - 13 January and on. AB-4168.

Measurement of stonework for the new wing. In rough stone: the socles below the windows of the first floor; the first corner quoining; three basement windows; second corner; third corner; fourth corner; fifth corner; dado running above the piano nobile.

A' di. 13. di Gennaro. 1613. sino A'di. (*blank*)

Misura, e stima dell'opera di scarpello della fabbrica Nuova che fa fare . . . Marc'Antonio Borghese, quale seguita la fabbrica fatta, che fa testa verso Ripetta fatti di tutta robba da mas.^{ro} Stefano Longho Capomastro Scarpellino mis.^{ti}, e stimati da Noi sotto scritti Deputati, conforme li Capitoli e Prima

Misura delle pietre rustiche

	Zoccolone, che ricorre sotto le finestre del p. ^o Piano.
1 v	Prima Cantonata, che seguita in d. ^a strada, dove fa l'Angolo. Piedestallo sotto le Bugnie Prima Bugnia grande . . .
2 v	Zoccolone, che seguita il misurato pass. ^o d. ^a Cantonata Per n. ^o 3 finestre di Cantina in d. ^a facciata . . . 2. ^a Cantonata nella strada di Ripetta à man' manca del Portone.
3 v	3. ^a Cantonata in detta Strada à man'dritta del portone.
5	Quarta Cantonata nella strada, che va al Monte d'Oro à fine del Giard. ^o pensile.
6	Quinta Cantonata che seguita in d. ^a strada al fine del giuoco della Palla.
7 v	Dado, che ricorre sopra dette al Piano dell'Amattonato sopra il piano Nobile.

45. 1613 - 1 February. AB-4168.

(Continuation of Doc. 44 - more zoccolone, windows, etc.)

46. 1613 - 20 February. AB-4168.

Continuation of Doc. 44. Rough stone for 7 windows of the facade on the Via dell'Arancio. Door entering the corridor. Sockle below the pilasters of the loggia on the piano nobile; bases of the pilasters; 3 arches; 3 keystones; 4 capitals and 2 half capitals; architrave and frieze over the loggia; cornice. Arches of the upper loggia.

- 12 Per n.º 7 finestre, cioè stipiti, et Archit.^{vi} à simile mis.^{ra} dell'altre alla facciata della strada, che va al Monte d'Oro . . .
- 12 v Portone all'entrare del Curritore.
- 14 v Zoccholo sotto li Pilastrì della loggia al piano Nobile . . .
- 15 Base delli Pilastrì sopra detti zoccholi. (8)
- 19 v Rusticho della loggia del Piano Nobile
- 21 v Per n.º 12. pezzi di arco delli 3. archi di d.^e Loggie . . .
Per il rusticho delli 3. serragli à d.ⁱ archi . . .
Per il rusticho di numero 6. triangoli tra detti archi . . .
- 22 Per il rusticho di 4. Capitelli . . .
. . . 2 mezzi capitelli . . .
Archi(trave)ve sop.^a la loggia lon. p. 65 1/4 . . .
Fregio sopra detto.
P.^o Pezzo accanto la bugnia della strada del Monte d'oro . . . con l'Aquila . . .
P.^o triglifo . . . (7)
- 22 v Cornice
- 23 Rusticho della Loggia Sopra Detta
- 24 v Rusticho di 12 pezzi d'arco à d.^a loggia . . .
- 26 v Porta che dallo studio entra nel ricetto accanto la loggia.

47. 1613 - 15 October. AB-4168.

Continuation of Doc. 44. Measurement of smooth stone mouldings for the loggia of the piano nobile: 3 arches, capitals, etc. Balustrade on hanging garden; balustrade in the upper loggia.

- 32 Misura della Pelle della Loggia del Piano Nobile
- 32 v Pelle scorn(icia)ta delli 3 archi di d.^a loggia . . . (*much more, carving of dragons, etc., guttae, 4 Ionic capitals and two half capitals*)
- 47 Balaustrata al Giardino Pensile . . .
- 53 v Balaustrata della loggia sop.^a il Piano Nobile nel Vano delli tre Archi
- 55 Summario . . . ∇ 6968.71
- 55 v Ant.^o di Battisti mano pp.^a
Gasparo Vecchi mano pp.^{ria}

48. 1614 - 3 April. AB-4168.

Third measurement of masonry. Frame in the ceiling of the big room on the piano nobile toward the Via dell'Arancio. Three lucarnes built over the roof of the loggia, taken down by order of the architect.

- Terza misura, e stima delli lavori di muro fatti à tutta robba da M.^{ro} Angelo Pozzi . . .
. . . Galerietta, o studio al piano sopra il piano nobile . . .
- 5 v Piano Nobile
- 6 Per il Fregio di stuccho dello studio intag.^o ∇ 144.50
Per haver sbusciato il m.^o di d.^a loggia per ord.^o del sig.^r Franc^o per veder la diritt.^{ra}.
delle Porte . . . ∇ .90
- 6 v Per l'Agg.^o et stucc.^{ra} del cornicione sopra la loggia tra le 2 cantonate . . . ∇ 60.75
- 12 v Per l'Aggetto fatto, e poi tag.^o dalla cornice, et frontespizietto sop.^a la nicchia nel mezzo di detta loggia . . .
Quadro nella Volta del Camerone à piano nobile verso la strada

15 v	Per tre lucernarij fatto sop. ^a il Tetto della facciata della loggia . . . che non si era fatto il detto sopra quali furono buttati a terra per ordine del Arch. ^{to} montano . . .	∇ 12.75
16	(Total) (Signed Battisti and Vecchi)	∇ 1849.66

49. 1614 - 14 April. AB-4168.

Measurement of travertine stonework: portal arch, capitals, frieze, cornice, balustrade, etc.

Misura, e stima delli lavori di scarpello de Conci di trevertino . . .

4	Arco dell Portone	
4 v	Capitelli sopra li Pilastrì	
5	Modelli n.º 3	
	Modello di mezzo il serraglio	
	Architrave	
5 v	Fregio sopra detto Architrave	
	Cornice	
7 v	Balaustrata	
	(Dragons, eagles, etc.)	
12	Summario	∇ 1684.59
	(Signed Battisti and Vecchi)	

50. 1614 - 9 July. AB-4168.

Fourth measurement of masonry. Work on the upper loggia; stuccoes of the vault. Stuccoes of the vault of the loggia below; ornament of the niche in the center of loggia, stucco arms above, festoons and angels, etc. Installation of the travertine portal on the ground floor facing Ripetta, installation of the arms on the key-stone (cf. Doc. 25).

Quarta Misura e stima de lavori di Muro . . .

2 v	Loggia del Piano sopra il Piano Nobile	
	Stucchi della volta di d. ^a loggia	
4 v	Loggia del Piano Nobile	
5	Stucchi della Volta di detta loggia	
6 v	Ornamento della nichia nel mezzo di d. ^a loggia	
	Per l'arme di stucco di marmo sopra detta nichia con suoi castelli corona, et Impresa dentro alta p. 6 1/4 lar. p. 3 1/2 con . . . festoni . . . et due angeli di stucco . . .	∇ 40.
7	Per l'aggetto e stuccat. ^a della Cochiglia doppia della d. ^a Nichia con un drago nel mezzo	∇ 5.
7 v	Per la mettitura della statua sopradetto presa nel salone alta p. 8 da mettersi in opera	∇ 2.50
10 v	Alla facciata di fuori della testa dell'Giardino Pensile del Palazzo Verso Ripetta	
11	Per la mett. ^{ra} de tutti li Conci di trevertino della detta Porta et Ripieni tra le bugne . . . secondo la misura dello scarpellino . . .	∇ 131.42
	Per la mett. ^a dell'arme di trevertino alta p. 9 nel serraglio del detto Portone	∇ 4.
	(cf. Doc. 25)	
13	(Total)	∇ 1767.38
	(Signed Battisti and Vecchi)	

51. 1614 - 2 October. AB-4168.

Masonry and stucco work: stuccoing of chapel vault on piano nobile; pebble paving of the hanging garden, etc.

Misura e stima delli lavori di muro. . .

1 v	Per l'Agetto et stuccat. ^{ra} delli ottangoli della volta della Cappella à detto piano (nobile)	∇ 39.60
2	Ornamento dell'Altare	
7 v	Pavimenti di sassetti nel Giardino Pensile	
	(Total)	∇ 800.39
	(Signed Battisti and Vecchi)	

52. 1626 - 27 March. AB-6049, no. 152.

Masonry work for the stair going from the garden to the top of the palace toward Ripetta.

Misura de lavori di muro . . . per fare la scaletta nova, che saglie dal piano del Giardino sino alla Cima del Palazzo a Ripetta. . .

Facciate di fora di detta scala
Scala per di dentro

(Total)

∇ 833.91

Sergio Venturi mano propria

Gio: Maria Bolini mano propria

53. No date (ca. 1635?). AB-306, no. 23.

Resumé of the history of the palace up to ca. 1610.

PALAZZO DI V. E. GIÀ DE SS.^{ri} DEZZI et altre persone ampliato è quasi tutto fabricato di novo

. . . La fe: me: Papa Paolo Quinto mentre era Cardinale comprò dalli SS.^{ri} . . . Dezzi . . . la parte di detto Palazzo che confina con la detta strada delli Condotti, et Piazza vecchia Borghese, et con la detta strada, che dalla medesima Piazza va alla detta Piazza del Monte d'oro Di piu comprò il Palazzo Vecchio contiguo al predetto che confinava con la strada che dalla detta strada delli condotti va alla detta Piazza di Ripetta

Et anco un Cannello di legna contiguo a detto Palazzo vecchio et riusciva alla detta Piazza di Ripetta, et confinava con la detta strada che d.^a Piazza va all'altra Piazza di Monte d'oro

Detto Palazzo vecchio et Cannello furno demoliti, et nel loro sito è stato fabricato il Palazzo nuovo assieme con il Giardino pensile, et il Giardino al paro della d.^a strada che riesce alla detta Piazza del Monte d'oro, et la metà delle loggie di d.^o Palazzo

(verso)

Comprò anco derincontro al detto Palazzo Vecchio una Stalla con rimessa da cocchio, fienile, casetta, et horto, che confinavano da una banda con una Piazzetta, dall'altri lati, con li beni del Sig.^r Conte Alessandro Santinelli, li beni delli SS.^{ri} Anibale et Prospero Ferri, et le case della Chiesa di S. Jacomo della Natione Spagnola, quali stalla et altri beni p.^{ti} furon demoliti per fare la d.^a Piazza nova Borghese Tutti li predetti Palazzi et beni S. Beat.^{ne} comprò da detti SS.^{ri} Dezzi per prezzo di ∇ 42,000 di m.^{ta} quali forno depositati nel Banco del q. Sig.^r Alesandro Ruspoli ad effetto di estinguerne un censo di scudi mille in sorte principale imposto dal q. Sig. Giovanni del Giglio Authore (*sic*) di detto Emin.^{mo} Sig.^r Cardinal Dezza, et da S. Em.^{za} accollato nell'instro(mento) di compra che fece dal d.^o signor Giovanni, et altri scudi 41.^m per investirli in Spagna in beni stabilio, censi perpetui come per instramento rogato dal sig.^r Diomede Ricci sotto li 14. Febbraro 1605, in solido con Ottaviano Betti Notaro A. C. Nell'Archivio di V. E.

(next sheet)

L'Ecc.^{mo} Sig.^r Giovan Battista Borghese bon: me: l'anno 1609. comprò dalla Ve: Compagnia della Sanct.^{ma} Annuntziata sei case che sonno incorporate nella detta Isola del predetto Palazzo poste parte nella detta strada che dalla detta strada delli condotti et Piazza Borghese va alla detta Piazza del Monte d'Oro, et parte nell'istessa Piazza, et strada che da essa va alla detta Piazza di Ripetta, confinano da doi bande con la casa che era di Donato Antonio Martinello Stufarolo, et dall'altri lati con il detto Palazzo et detta compra la fece per prezzo di ∇ 6781.96. Delli quali per la rata di ∇ 1000 ne fu estincto

il detto censo di scudi mille in sorte principale dovuto alla d.^a S.^{ra} Panta Crescentij. Et per l'altri ∇ 41,000 gli furno consignati luoghi cinquantanove di diversi Monti valutati ∇ 6770.28 1/2 et per final pagamento gli fu fatto un ordine di ∇ 11.67 1/2 diretto al Monte della Pietà come per instr(ument)i rogati in solido per l'atti del Ottaviano Betti Noto A.C. et Giovanni Battista Ottaviani Noto. Capitolino sotto li 23. Febbraro et 2 d'Aprile 1609. In Archivio di V.E.

Dette sei case erano solite locarsi scudi trecento dieci et baiocchi 40. l'anno, et si comprono per rigore della Bolla Gregorio xiii. de iure congrui.
(verso)

Il medesimo Ecc.^{mo} Sig.^r Giovan Battista Borghese comprò dal detto Donato Antonio Martinello stufarolo la detta sua casa dove sino al presente si fa la stufa per rigore della Bolla di Greg.^o xiii e incorporata nel Isola del detto Palazzo et sta in mezzo delle dette case compre dalla Compagnia dell'Annuntiata, et dietro confina con il detto Palazzo già de Sig.^{ri} Dezzi
Et d.^a compra la fece per prezzo di ∇ 1734.19 compresi l'augmento della detta Bolla...

54. *No date (ca. 1635?)*. AB-306, no. 32.

Resumé of the history of the palace with lists of payments to workmen for the period 1605-1610, lists of payments from 1611-22, with additional costs borne later by Cardinal Scipione Borghese, totaling ∇ 188,107.33.

A di 2. 8bre 1609. La fe: me: Paolo Papa Quinto compò dal Sig.^r. Gio: Paolo della Porta diverse statue, colonne, tavole, fontane et pietre per prezzo di ∇ 6000. di m.^{ta}...

Di più comprò dalli R. R. Padri de S. Salvatore in Lauro li tre colossi che stanno nel cortile per ∇ 500.

Prima Fabrica

Il sop.^{to} Ecc.^{mo} Sig.^r Giovan Battista Borghese et la bon: me: (dell') Ecc.^{mo} Sig.^r Franc.^o Borghese spesero nella prima fabrica di detto Palazzo dall'anno 1605. sino et per tutto l'anno 1610. come appare dalli libri di computisteria ∇ 55,371.49 nell'infrascritte partite, cio, è,

Alli muratori	∇ 21,216.93
Scarpellini	∇ 11,771.64
Falegnami	∇ 5,456.84
Mercanti di calcie	∇ 6,647.18
Mercanti di legnami	∇ 1,343.05
Stagnaro et ottonaro	∇ 1,262.61
Ferraro	∇ 3,324.84
Vetraro	∇ 340.95
Pittori	∇ 815.90
Scultori per statue	∇ 1,214.98
Carretthieri et carrari	∇ 343.74
Giardiniero et altri per il giardino	∇ 150.78
Imbiancatori	∇ 101.50
Muratori per la stalla	∇ 1,164.52
Fornaciario	∇ 121.03
Teventini	∇ 95.00

2.^{da} Fabrica

Doppo la morte di d.^o Gio: Battista V. E. ha speso nella d.^a 2.^{da} fabrica ∇ 72,219.69 come appare per libri di computisteria incominciando dal 1611 sino al 1622...cio, è,

(verso)

Muratori hanno hauto	∇ 30,287.39
Scarpellini	∇ 9,658.76
Pittori in denari...	∇ 7,788.51
Detti in pane vino...	∇ 8,000.00
Falegnami	∇ 3,526.18
.....	
Scultori	∇ 12.60
.....	

Ferraro	∇	3,107.89
Giardino	∇	1,060.17
.....		
Indoratori	∇	6,056.37
In tutto	∇	<u>72,219.69</u>

... la fe: me: dell'Emin.^{mo} Sig.^r Scipione Cardinal Borghese spese nella fabrica della Scala del giardino, soffite dell'appartamento di sopra di d.^o Palazzo et pitture ∇ 3,000. di moneta

Tutte le sopradette spese di compre et fabbriche di d.^o Palazzo ... ∇ 188,107.33

55. *No date (ca. 1635?).* AB-307, no. 74.

Different lists of payments to artisans, by year: painters, masons and stonecutters.

P.^a Fabrica fatta dalla bo: me: ... Gio: Battista Borghese (*version of the conti in Doc. 54, plus a breakdown of payments by years*):

2.^{da} fabrica fatta da V. E.

Pittori ha hauto al Banco ...

nell'anno	1611	∇	46.70
	1612	∇	826.08
	1613	∇	1,578.52
	1614	∇	786.19
	1615	∇	749.75
	1616	∇	999.55
	1617	∇	1,430.13
	1618	∇	1,291.59
	1619	∇	98.00

(Total) ∇ 7,788.51

In tutto ∇ 119,530.27

(Plus some more for paintings, making): ∇ 127,530.

.....

(The following table is a compilation from documents in the same folder)

2. ^{da} Fabrica	Muratori	Scarpellini
1611	∇ 875.53	∇ 306.68
1612	∇ 3,400.00	∇ 800.00
1613	∇ 17,461.24	∇ 6,600.00
1614	∇ 3,998.81	∇ 1,215.45
1615	∇ 1,336.35	∇ 316.57
1616	∇ 1,249.22	∇ 191.92
1617	∇ 171.08	∇ 58.64
1618	∇ 452.87	∇ 169.50
1619	∇ 766.72	
1620	∇ 254.59	
1621	∇ 310.98	
(Totals)	∇ <u>30,287.39</u>	∇ <u>9,658.76</u>

Ristretto della spesa del nuovo Palazzo della Famiglia...

∇ 61,995.48

56. *No date (ca. 1635?)*. AB-306, no. 32.

Description of Piazza Borghese, and resumé of its history.

PIAZZA BORGHESE NUOVA DI V. E.

Detta Piazza, è . . . confina da una banda il Palazzo grande di V. E. della sua solita residentia, dall'altra il Palazzo parimente di V. E. per uso della famiglia, da capo il Palazzo che V. E. comprò dalli RR.^{di} Padri della Minerva mediante la strada delli condotti, et la casa compra da Francesco Pianetti mediante detta strada, et da piedi la stalla grande di V.E. fabricata nel Cancellò et sito già de Ricci et altri compro per rigor della Bolla di Greg.^o xiii. et l'altre case parimente di V. E. compre da Filippo Benini Evangelista Pozzatto et dall'Hospedale de Pazzarelli mediante il Vicolo antichamente detto di Pisa Di tutta questa Piazza V. E. ne, è, assoluto padrone . . . per esser stata fatta nelli siti et beni compri dall'infrascritti persone . . . (*list of houses bought from 2 October 1609 to 25 Januari 1611*).

Tutte le sopradette spese fatte in comprare le sop.^{te} case et siti et in spianar d.^a Piazza . . . ∇ 13,238,85

57. *1671 - 18 October*. AB-1476, no.781. (Work continuing to 30 April 1674).

Measurement of masonry work done in rebuilding the apartment toward the garden and work done on the piano nobile and the floor above, and restoration of the 2 apartments on the ground floor with the gallery and its stuccos, the view, garden, fountains, etc.:

Old gallery on the ground floor rebuilt, lower rooms raised to higher level; new doors; stuccoing and painting; stairs, kitchenette, etc., destroyed for the new gallery; oval room for the chapel, with opening made for the view; installation of the pavement in the gallery; stuccoing the gallery.

Misura e stima de Lavori di Muro et altro fatti in realsare (rialzare) l'Appartamento verso il giardino e lavori fatti al Pian Nobile e piano sopra d.^o, e restaurare li due Appartamenti al pian Terreno con suoi stucchi e Galleria, e veduta, et adornare il Giardino con stucchi, fontane, et altro nel Palazzo in Roma dell'Ecc.^{mo} Sig.^f Prencipe Borghese, a tutta sua robba spese e fattura di mas.^o Pietro Jacomo Mola Capo Mas.^o Muratore, misurati, e stimati da noi sotto scritti. E p.^a

Tetti

Muri

Sotto Tetto Sopra l'Appartam.^o davanti che si e diviso per fare il Coritore per il Passo delle Donne

Sotto Tetto Sopra la Galleria verso Ripetta

Scala che dal Scalone ovato Salle al terzo Appartamento verso il Giardino.

Appartamento v.^o Strada a d.^o Piano

Galleria al Pian Nobile

Camera che Segue verso il Giard.^{no} dell Udienza della Sig.^{ra} Principessa

Anticamera acc.^{to} la Cappella

Cappella

Appartamento Vecchio

Mezzanini demoliti che godevono le Donne nella facc.^{ta} verso il giard.^o e davanti per farle stanze nobile Terrene

Galleria Vecchia al Pian Terreno

Stanza accanto alle stanze vecchie che si sono messe in piano con le stanze vecchie

Facciata del tramezzo che divide con l'altra stanza verso il Giardino

Per haver rotto il muro e fatto il vano della fines.^a nella facciata di strada verso la piazza che era finta per di fuori . . .

∇ 3.83

Per haver rotto il muro e fatto il vano della porta nel tramezzo che passa nel stanzone del Udienza di S. E. per metterla a filo con le altre . . .

∇ 2.40

Per haver levato d'opera . . . 6 Scalini che erano nella grossezza del muro appiedi a d.^a porta . . . (*a different door*)

Muro fatto nel vano della porta dove erano di p.^a li Scalini, per quanto si e realsato il piano . . .

Per haver fatto il Ponte per l'Indoratore per indorare il quadro nella volta . . .

Per haver fatto li ponti per li Pittori per dipingere li due Mezzanini sopra le finestre infacciata	▽ 1.
Stucchi in detta stanza	
Stanzione del Udienza di S. Ecc. ^{sa}	
... alla porta ... che passa nel la galleria vecchia ...	
... alle tre finestre ... nella facciata davanti ...	
Per haver levato d'opera n.º 8 altri Scalini di travertino che erano nella grossezza del muro avanti la porta che Calava in strada. . .	
Per haver levato d'opera n.º 21 Scalini di peperino della Scala che Saliva alli mezzanini quale e demolita ...	
Per haver rotto il muro e fatto il vano della porta che passa nella stanza ultima dove e il Zampanaro ...	
... alla fontana d'argento in detto stanzione ...	
Stucchi ...	
Stanza ultima dove e il Zampanaro facciata verso la Galleria	
Stanzione dell'Udienza della Sig. ^{ra} Principessa	
Stanza accanto alle stanze vecchie dove e il passo della Scala Secreta	
Stanzolino dove era di p. ^a la Rota dove si e fatto la Scaletta Secreta a branchi che riesce al appartamento della Sig. ^{ra} Principessa	
Stucchi ...	
Stanza che segue dove e la fontana di Porfido	
Stanzione dove era la Cucina	
Stucchi in detta stanza	
Scala Secreta fatta a branchi ... demolita per fare la nova Galleria	
Cucinetta dove si e fatto la Cappella e poi disfatta per fare la Galleria	
Stanza accanto dove e la Porticella che esce in strada	
Stucchi fatti in detta	
Mezzanino ... sopra la Stanza dipinta acc. ^{to} a Galleria	
Stanza dipinta acc. ^{to} d. ^a Scala al pian terreno acc. ^{to} la Galleria	
Stanza ovata per la Cappella dove era la Stanza della pallacorda, dove si e fatto l'Aperatura della Veduta	
Muro della finestra rimurata con il mezzanino sotto ... verso il vicolo ...	
Per haver tagliato il muro per fare lapertura della veduta del Coritore sino alla Cappella ...	
Stucchi nella detta Cappella ovata	
Per haver dato il Colore di bianco a tutti li lavori di stuccho alla d. ^a Cappella con grande diligenza ...	▽ 4.
Lavori fatti per la Nova Galleria	
Per la mettitu. ^a in opera di n.º 4 porte di alabastro nella facciata di d. ^a Galleria verso le Stanze simil fatt. ^{ra} e misura dell altre	▽ 7.20
Per la mettitura in opera del Pavimento in detta Galleria di marmi mischi ...	▽ 54.50
Per le mettitu. ^a in opera delle due fontanelle d'alabastro nelle teste della Galleria con tazza lon. p. 3 2/3 con sotto quattro Tigre alt. luno p. 3 con balaustro del mezzo ...	▽ 3.
Per haver pigliato numero 8 specchi nella sala vecchia e portati. . . per dipingere li Pittori ...	▽ 3.20
Per la mettitura in opera detti Specchi con le tragle nelli vani di d. ^a Galleria ...	▽ 12.
Stucchi in detta Galleria	
Ornamento attorno al basso rilievo nel schifo della Volta nella testa di detta Galleria	
Per l'agg. ^o abbozzatu. e stucca. ^{ra} della Cornice che gira attorno alli Compartimenti in d. ^a volta dove sono li tondi quadri, et altri scompartim. ⁱ ...	▽ 67.20
Per l'aggetto ... della Cornice che ricorre per 4 faccie sotto al sudetto (dado) ...	▽ 121.10
... fregiatura modinata a braghettone sotto a d. ^a Cornice ...	▽ 91.87
... fascia ...	▽ 50.
... pilastri ...	▽ 67.50
... 16 ovati ...	▽ 16.
Per l'abbozzatura, e stuccatura d'uno di detti ...	▽ 7.80
Per l'aggetto abbozzatura e stucc. ^a della Cartella la quale sta posta nel mezzo della porta sopra al architrave ...	▽ 2.70

Per la fattura simile fatto a . . . 7 altre porte	∇ 167.30
Per la mettitura in opera di n.º 16 Busti d'Imperatori con teste di porfido e petti di alabastro antico . . .	∇ 16.
Per haver di p. ^a messo in opera n.º 3 di d. ^{ti} Busti nelli ovati per vedere che effetto facevono levati, et remessi piu volte	∇ 1.50
. . . la Calce mattoni stuccho con gesso, et altro che si sono serviti li Scultori, in fare le 19. Istorie nelli bassi rilevi diversi nelle medaglie e quadri nella volta e n.º 28 puttini et n.º 4 Angeli fatti dalle parti delli due quadri nelle dui testate della volta con n.º 16. figure di tutto rilievo sopra li frontespitiij sop. ^a le porte e n.º 6 puttini, e panni diversi sopra li due Specchi . . . con molte altre Istorie, et altri significati nelli squinci, et archi sotto e sopra delle due fines. ^e . . . come sta al presente ma ancora havendo considerato le robba spregata a fare e disfare d. ^e opere tante volte per metter alla fin al perfezzione . . .	∇ 82.45
Per haver tagliato il muro per 4. faccie per sporgere in fuori laggetto della Cornice sotto la volta che si fece di p. ^a ordinata dal Sig. ^r Fran. ^{co} Bolognese Pittore quale riuscì troppo alta . . .	∇ 16.80
E perche doppo che si e scompartita la volta di d. ^a galleria abbozzati di Calce li sui quadri, et ovati conforme al disegno dato dal Sig. ^r Fran. ^{co} Bolognese fu disfatto parte del ponte acciaio S. E. vedesse se l'opra Caminava . . . a Suo gusto . . . et fu ordinato che li otto telari che formano le otto tonde poste nelli due fianchi della volta li dovessero restringere in forma piu piccola . . .	∇ 18.96

(Work in the Galleria continued in successive measurements through 4 January 1675).

58. 1675 - 4 January. (Continuation of Doc. 57).

Installation of the curved stairway leading to the new ringhiera on the Ripetta facade, etc.

Adi 4. Gennaio 1675

Stanzione sop.^a il Rimessone

Per haver levato di opera l'Arme di trav. ^o della S. ^{ta} memoria di Papa Paulo sop. ^a il portone in facc. ^a per rialzarla . . .	∇ 4.50
Per la mett. ^a in opera di n.º 18. scalini di travertino cioe n.º 9. per branco alle scale che sallono alla ringhiera . . .	∇ 2.70
Per haver refatto di novo il Testo a d. ^a volta per ridurla a perfezzione per dipingerla . . .	∇ 38.26
Per . . . (la) Cornice che ricorre attorno a d. ^a volta . . .	∇ 41.30
Per haver fatto il ponte per li Pittori per dipingere la volta . . .	∇ 7.08
Per haver fatto li ponti per li pittori attorno per 3. faccie in d. ^o stanzione . . .	∇ 3.24

Lavori fatti e disfatti nelli Angoli dove si sono fatte le doi fontanelle alle scale che sallono alla Ringhiera.

(Work continued in the following measurement of 29 April 1676).

59. 1675 - 28 March. AB-1464, no. 582.

Payment to Rainaldi for the license for the new balcony of the palace toward Ripetta.

∇ 45.10 . . . pagati al S. ^r Cav. ^{te} Rainaldi disse per pagarli all m. ^{ri} di Strade e suo notaro per la licenza delle lastrone ch'aggiungono alla nova ringhiera del Palazzo verso ripetta. . .	∇ 45.10
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60. 1676 - 8 June. (Continuation of Docs. 57-58).

Installation of the new covered balcony with its 6 columns; removal of the old coat of arms of Paul V.

Work in the garden; work on the fountain in the neighboring palace that marked the vanishing point of the enfilade perspective.

Muro del fondamento del pezzo di mezzo fatto avanti il portone . . .

Per la mettitura in opera delli Conci del zoccolo base, pilastri e contrapilastri di d. ^a ringhiera . . .	∇ 28.80
Per la mettitu. ^a in opera di n.º 6. Colonne di travertino isolate alt. luna con sue base e Capitelli p. 18 3/4 . . .	∇ 12.
Per la mett. ^a in opera del basamento sopra la ringhiera, della balaustrata . . .	∇ 4.25
Per la mettitu. ^a in opera di n.º 54. Balaustri . . .	∇ 5.40
Per haver levato di opera l'Arme . . . di Papa Paulo quinto che stava sop. ^a il Portone, et Impediva il tamburo . . .	∇ 4.50
Seguono li Lavori fatti nel Giardino	
Facciata del Giardino v.º la loggia	
. . . 5 pilastri . . .	∇ 14.17
Facciata dove sono li 3 fontanoni nella facc. ^a ve.º il vicolo, e rivolta verso il Granaro . . .	
Fatture delle nicchie fatte e ordinate e determinate dal S. ^r Gio: Paulo Todesco	
Facciata del Palazzo verso il Giardino	
Lavori fatti al Palazzo a Ripetta dove si e fatto la veduta E, p. ^a Nel Piano di Cima	
Piano Nobile dove habita il Sig. ^r Simone	
Stanza Terrena	
Muro del Sguincio del portone . . . dal piano della volta al piano della fontana della veduta . . .	
Muro della volta sopra l'Entrone al piano della fontana . . .	
Facciata davanti	
Per haver levato di opera li Conci di travertino intavolati alla fines. ^a che si e rimurata per fare la veduta . . .	∇ 1.
Per la mett. ^a in opera delle bugnie di trav. ^o che fanno stipite al portone . . .	∇ 7.20
Per la mett. ^a in opera del Lastrone di travertino sotto la fontana della veduta che fa arch. ^o alla porta . . .	∇ 4.
Per haver fatto il ponte nel' Entrone per fare la mostra della fontana per la veduta . . . con . . . balaustro sop. ^a messo a piombo, et mettitu. ^a in opera della tazza di marmo di diametro p. 3. messa in piano . . .	∇ 2.50
Fontana che fa prospettive	
Per la mett. ^a in opera della tazza di travertino con suo balaustro sotto messo piu di una volta avanti che fusse agiustato . . .	∇ 3.
Lavori fatti di novo per slargare il Corritore della veduta, demoliti li tramezzi e refatti di novo	

61. 1677 - 6 July. (Continuation of Docs. 57-58, 60).

Work on the fountains, etc., in the perspective corridor in the neighboring palace.

Per l'armatura con ferramenti e verzelle abozzate e redotte a bona perfezzione le n.º 5. fontanelle fatte nel Corritore della veduta dove e la fontana al d.º Casino . . .	∇ 12.50
Per haver fatto n.º 8 delfini li quali stavono dalla parte intrecciate dentro alli tartari quali facevano spalliera alle maschere . . . che buttavano lacqua tra li tartari . . .	∇ 9.60
Per haver fatto n.º 4 teste di donna adornate con grillande de fiori attorno tra li Capelli e Cartocci di fiori che li Circondava con festoncino che li pende nel mezzo . . .	∇ 4.80
Per fattura e muratu. ^a delli tartari nelli due fianchi di d. ^a veduta	
Per haver fatto due altri delfini posti vicino alla Cascata dell'acqua verso il vicolo . . . quali stanno isolati . . .	∇ 5.20
Sommano tutti li sud. ^e lavori . . .	∇ 23,174.49
Carlo Rainaldi	
Dom. ^o Terzago mano pp. ^a	

62. No date (after 1683). AB-1477, no. 796.

Measurement and evaluation of cut marble, intaglios, etc., by the deceased Francesco Fancelli: fountains in the garden; work on the site of the perspective fountain; the new ringhiera; marble work within the palace; door in the chapel; pavement of the gallery; fountains; marble basins designed by Giovanni Paolo Schor.

Misura, e stima delli lavori di Scarpello Mischij Intagli et altre fatt.^{re} fatti nel Palazzo di Roma . . . dal Q:^m M^{ro}. Fran.^{co} Fancelli Capo M^{ro}. Scarpellino di S.E. misurati, E stimati dal Q:^m Dom.^{co} Terzago, e poi revisto il tutto, remisurato, ricalcolato, e stimato li sudetti lavori à suoi giusti prezzi, misure, e partite tralassate da me Infr̄tto . . .

Pian Terreno

Scala di Trav.^{no} nella gros.^a del muro à piedi alla Porta d'Alabas.^{ro} che calava nella Stanza

Bassa dove prima era la Cucina quale si demoli per fare la Galleria

Stanza acc.^{to} la Cappella che si e demolita per fare la Galleria

Stanza dov è il Zampanaro della Sig.^{ra} Principessa

Rus.^{co} del Scalino di Trav.^{no} à piedi alla porta nella grossezza del muro, che passava per andare alla Scala Segreta à Branco, quale e stata demolita per fare la Galleria . . .

Lavori fatti nel Giardino

Fontanelle al Teatro à piedi alla Scaia Ovata

Lavori fatti dovè la fontanella della Veduta al Casam.^{to} in Cantonata nella Piazza di

Ripetta

Per il rus.^{co} e lavorat.^{ra} del lastrone di Trav.^{no} posto acc.^{to} alla stanza sopra la d.^a Porta per Rispetto dell'acqua, che Bagnava nell'Passare, che si faceva . . .

Ringhiera Sopra il Rimessone nella piazza di Ripetta

Sommario della Misura della sudetta Ringhiera

(Total)

∇ 1082.61

Seguono li lavori di marmo e Mischi . . .

Quarta Stanza . . . (pian terreno)

Per li Piedi d'alabas.^o sotto à d.^a Tavola . . . quali sono stati rifatti piu Volte, fin

Tanto, che furno a piacere di Sig.^r Fran.^{co} Bolognese . . .

∇ 300.

Stanza Ovata accanto la Galleria

Per la fatt.^{ra} di n.^o 8 altre porte d'alabastro nella galleria

∇ 945.62 1/2

Per la fatt.^{ra} del Pavim.^{to} nella Galleria fatto con diversi Scompartim.^{ti} . . .

∇ 1,964.25

Per la fatt.^{ra} d'una fontanella d'Alabas.^{ro} antico con sua Tazza in Cima . . .

∇ 155.

Per la fatt.^{ra} simile dell'altra fontanella . . .

∇ 175.

Salone della Audienza della . . Principessa

. . . una fontanella d'Alabas(t)ro . . .

∇ 200.

Per l'altra fontanella . . .

∇ 200.

Per la fatt.^{ra} di due Tazze di marmo nove fatte à Cacciamoscha con disegno di

Gio: Paolo Todescho . . .

∇ 19.30

Ristretto

Defalco di n(umer)o 7 Porte di Trev(erti)no Intav(ola)te Vecchie, che furono levate alle Porte del Palazzo . . .

(Total)

∇ 15,531.73

D Carlo Rainaldi

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4. - Dupérac-Lafréry map of 1577. Detail showing the site of the Palazzo Borghese with the Palazzo del Giglio.



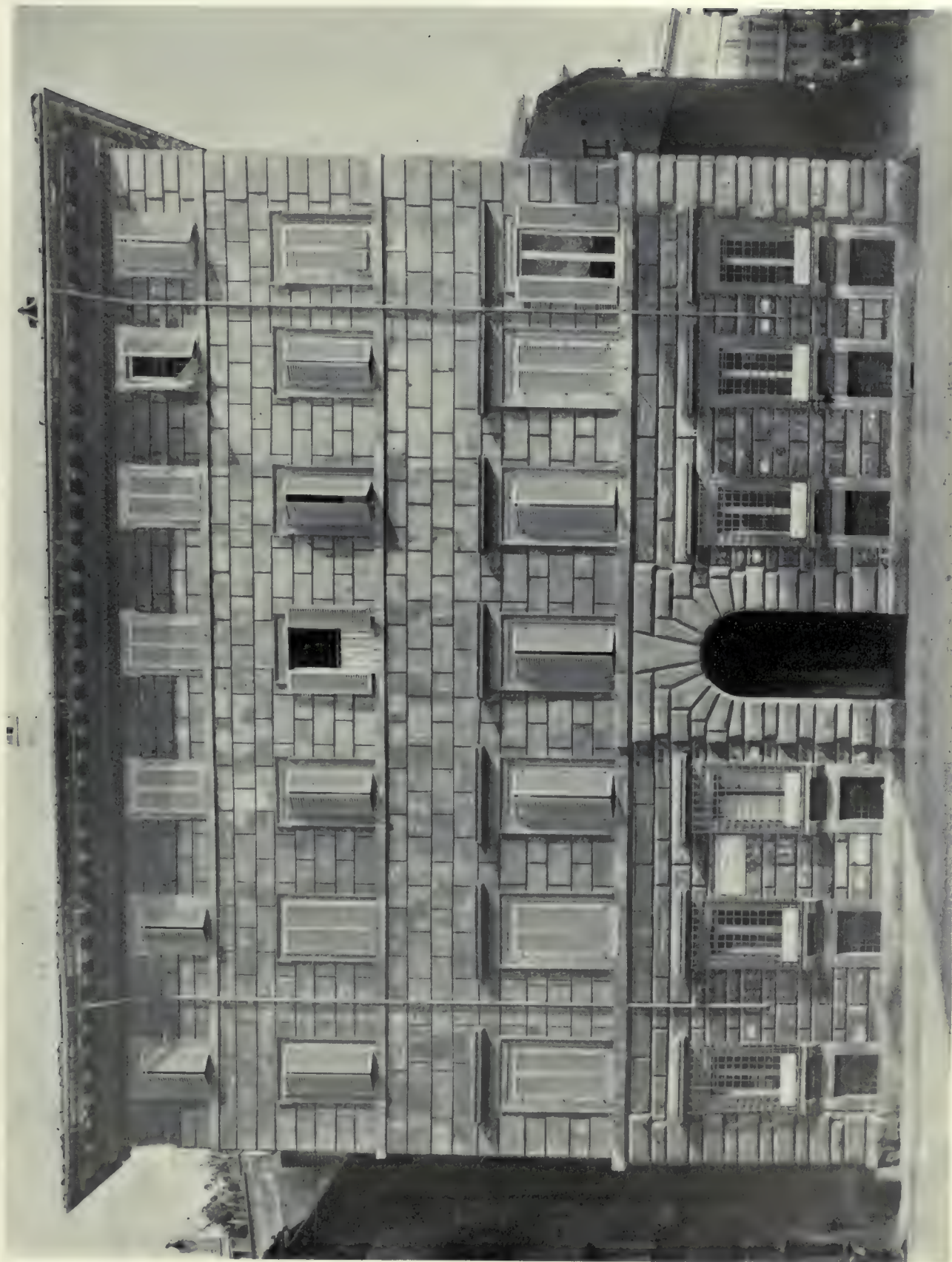
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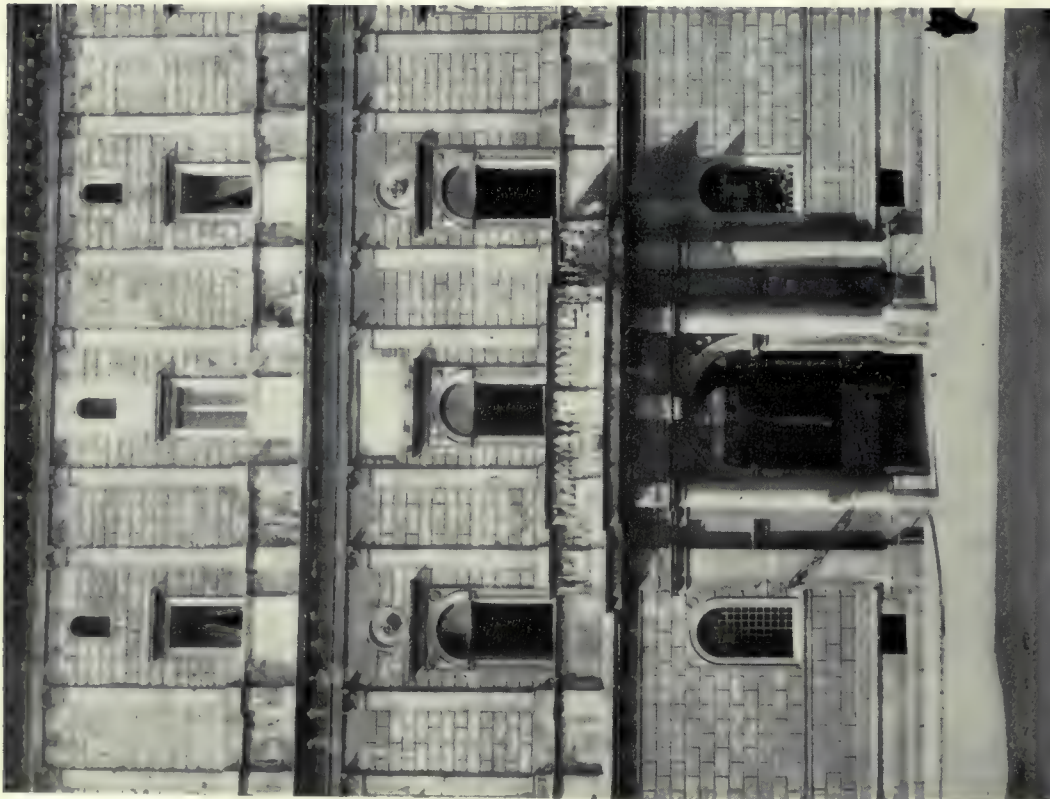
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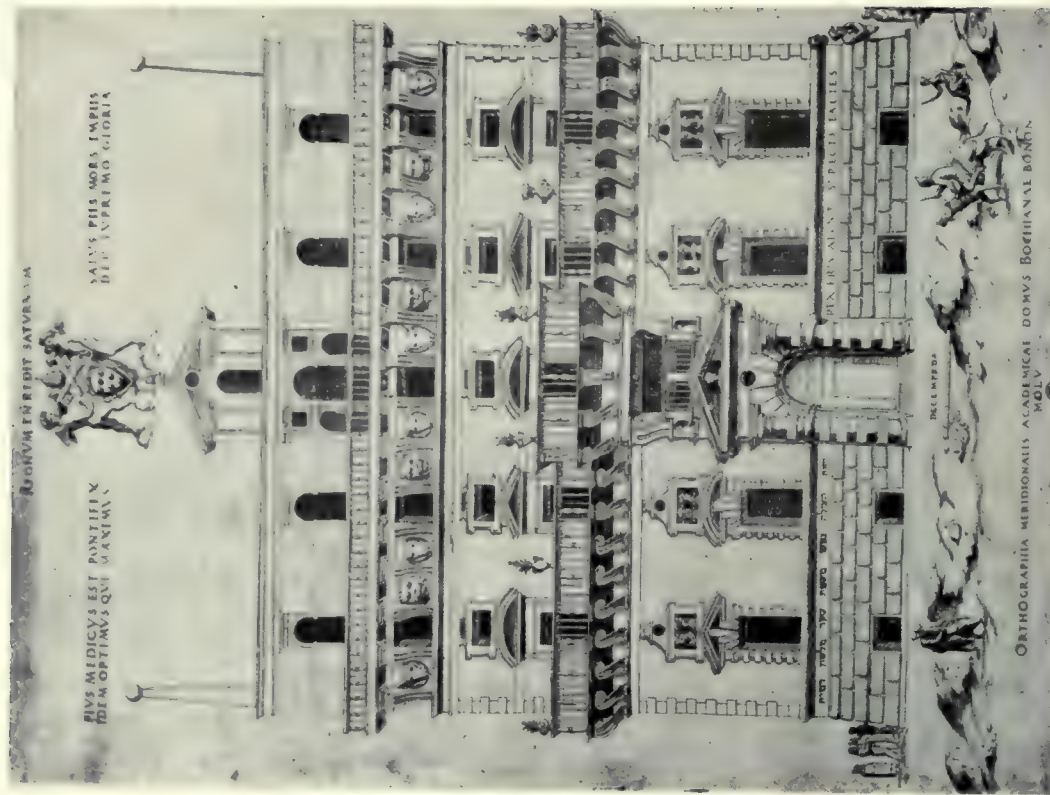
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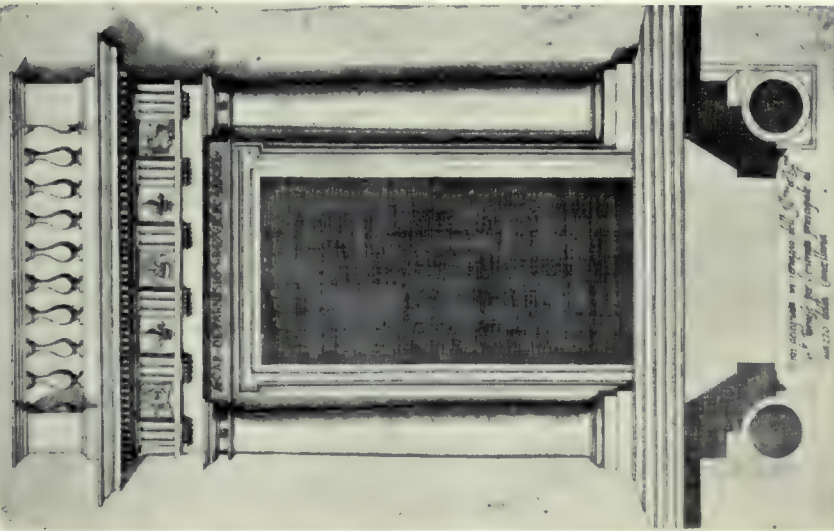
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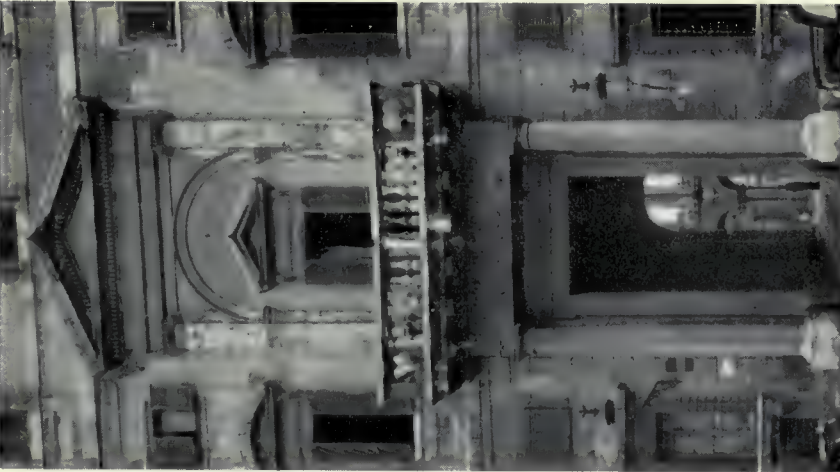
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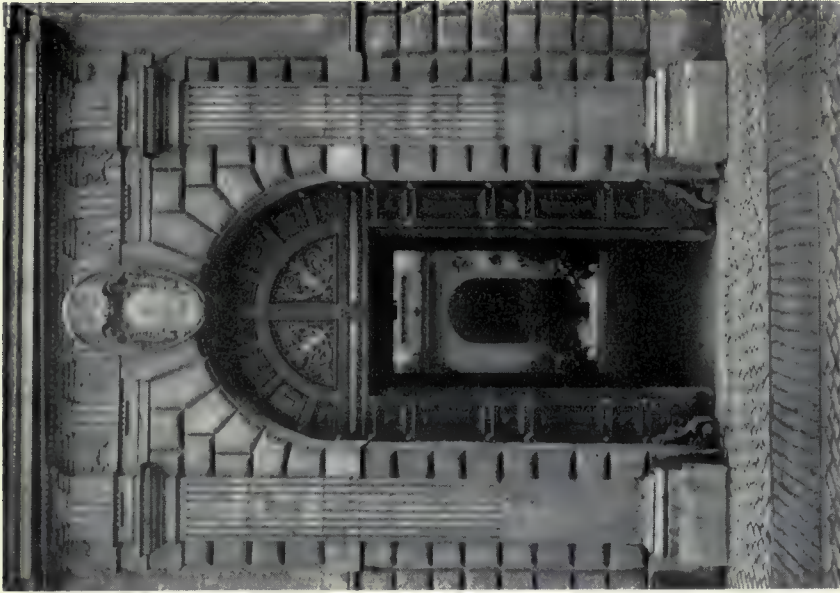
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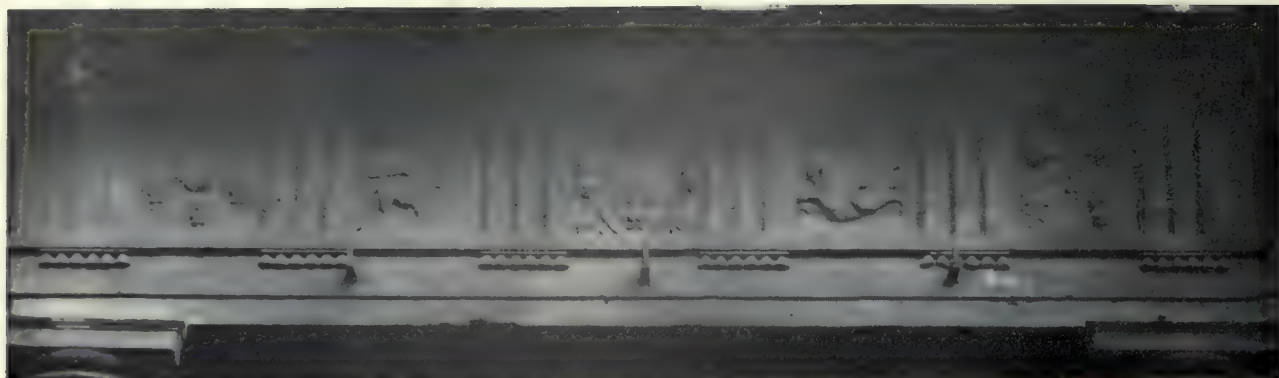
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17. - Palazzo Borghese. Portal, center metope (detail of Fig. 16).



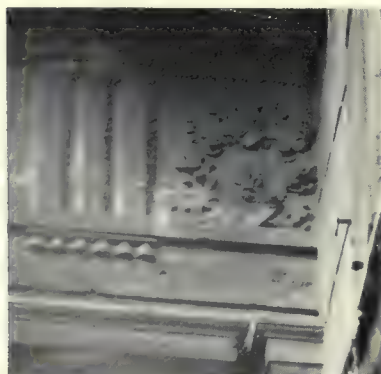
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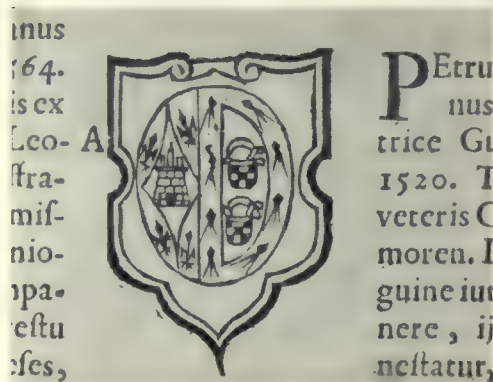
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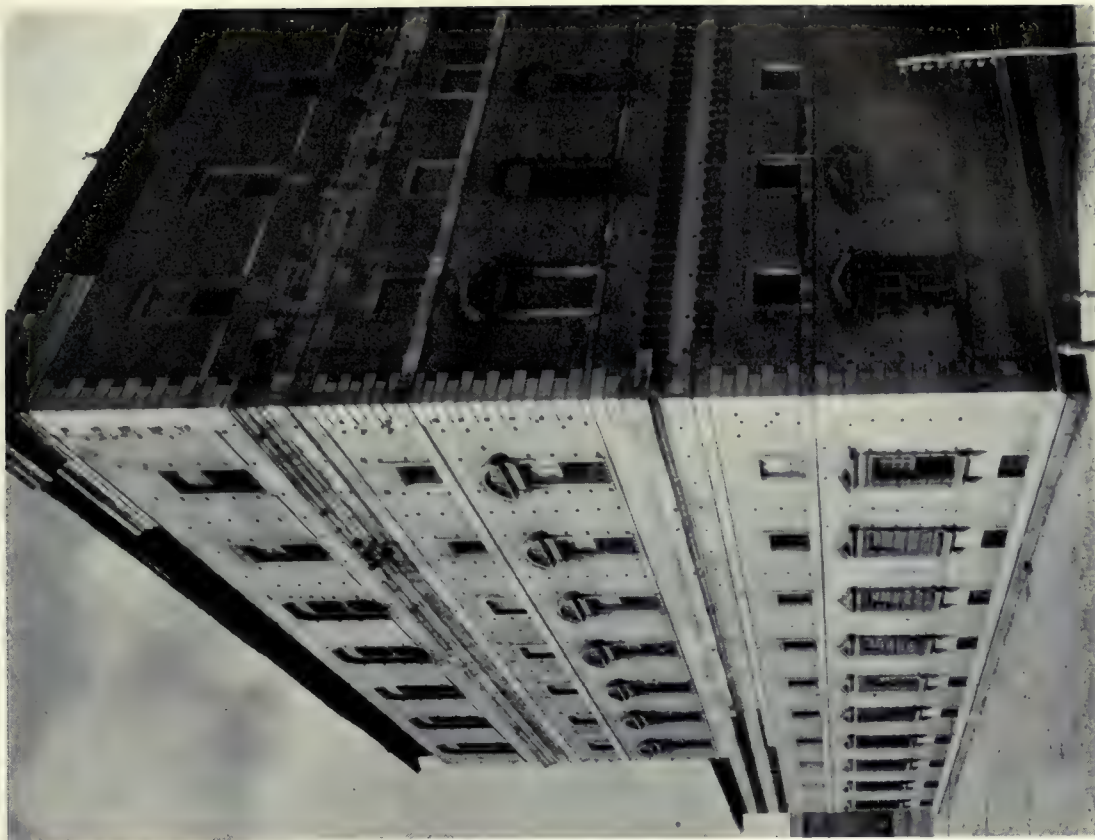
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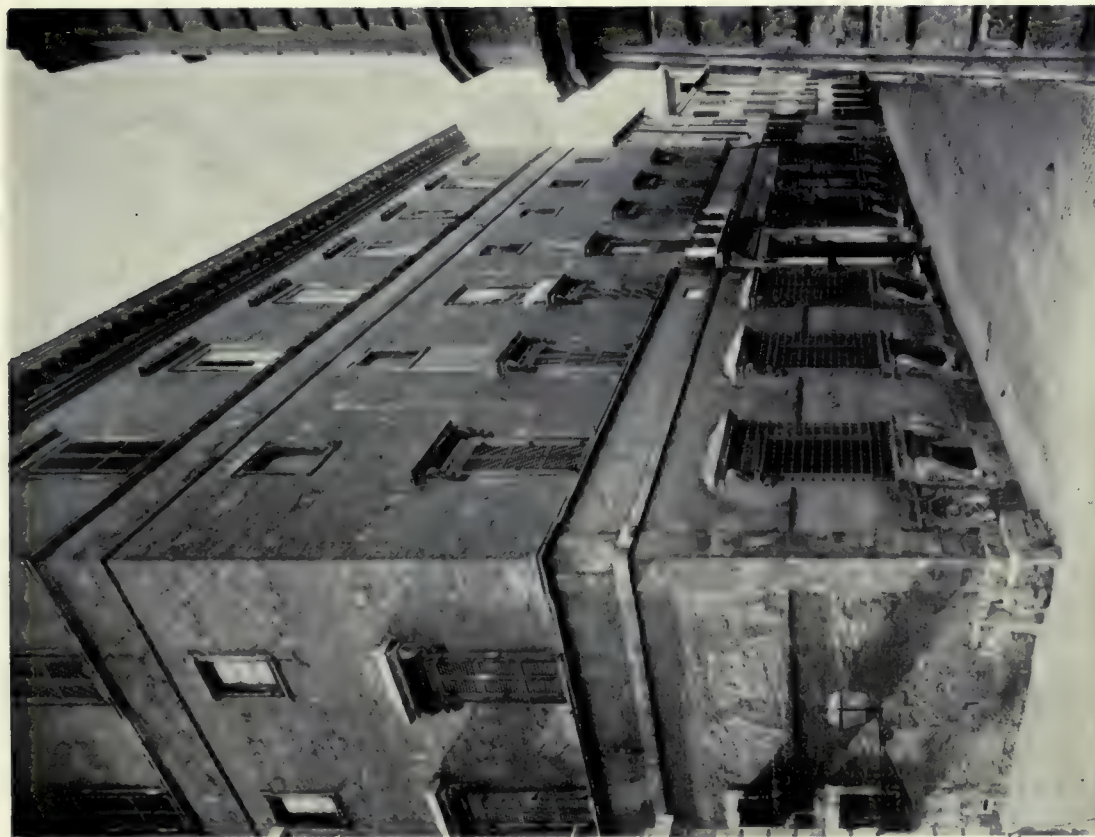
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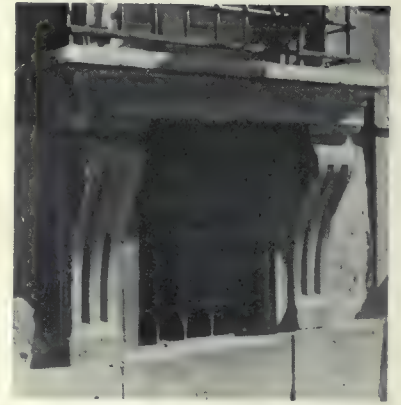
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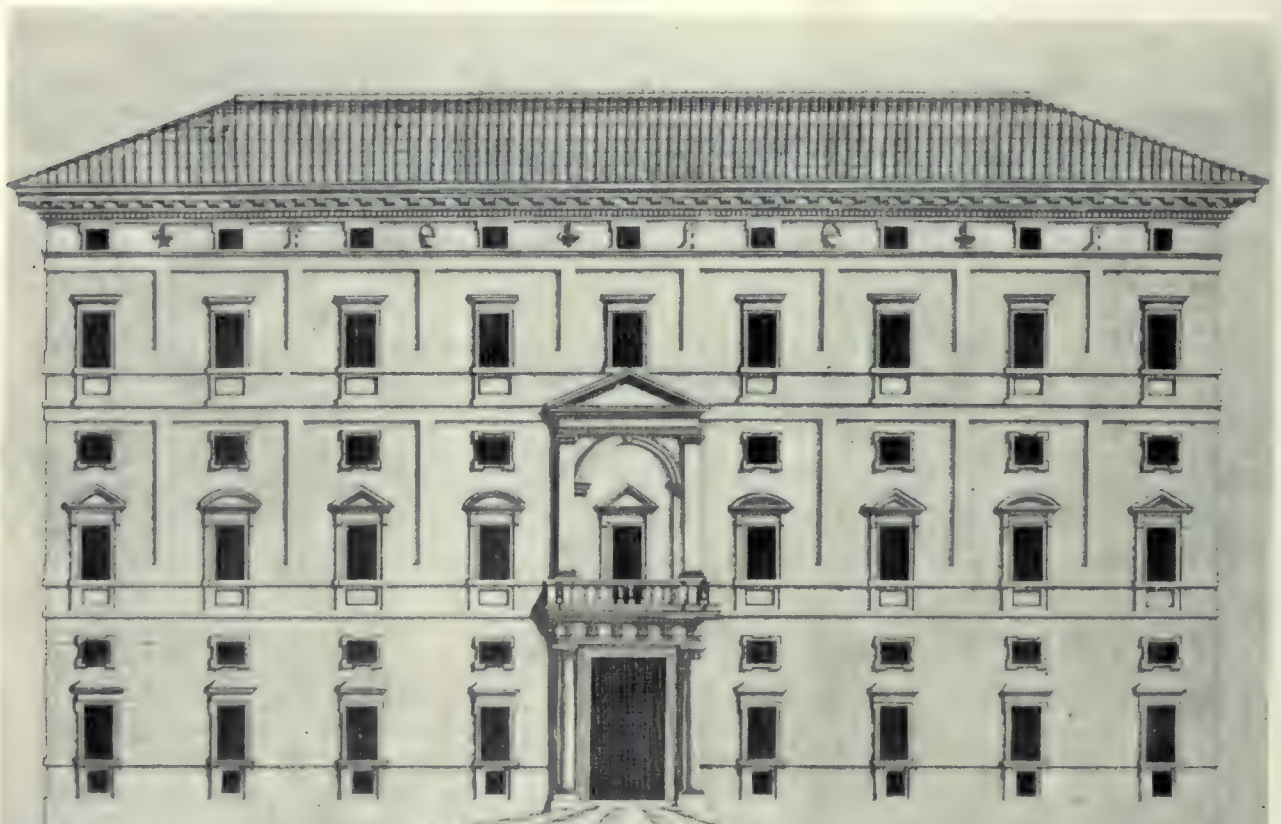
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IL D. PALAZZO LO FECE FARE IL CARDINAL DEZZA CON ARCHITETTURA DI MARTINO LVNGHI ILVECCHIO. DE SS. BORGHESI
Stabilito l'anno. MDXC.

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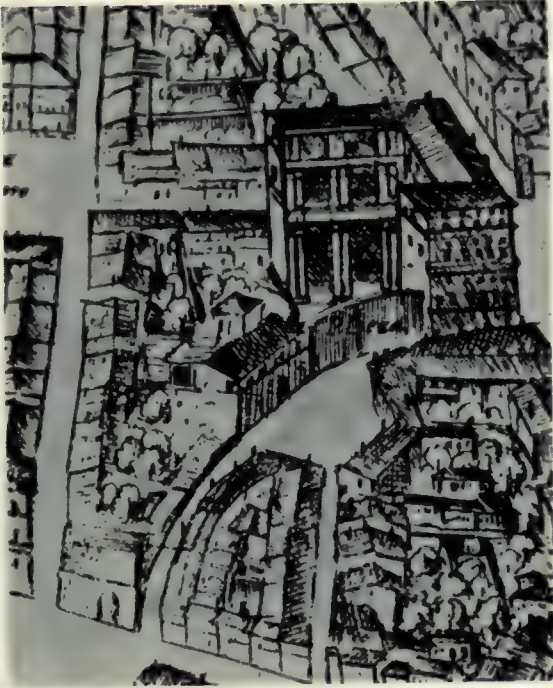
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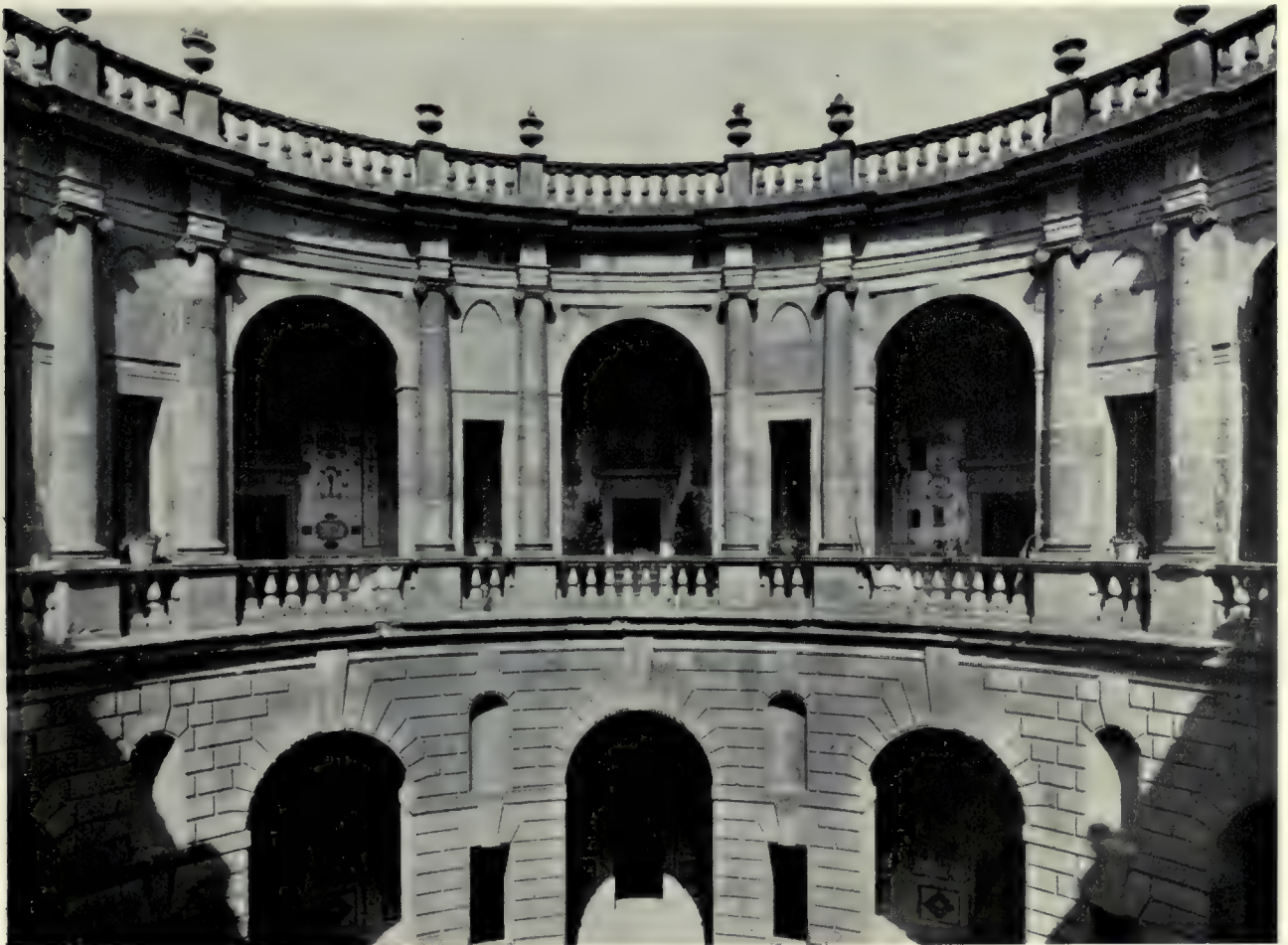
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34. - Cathedral, Fara in Sabina. Tabernacle. Vignola.



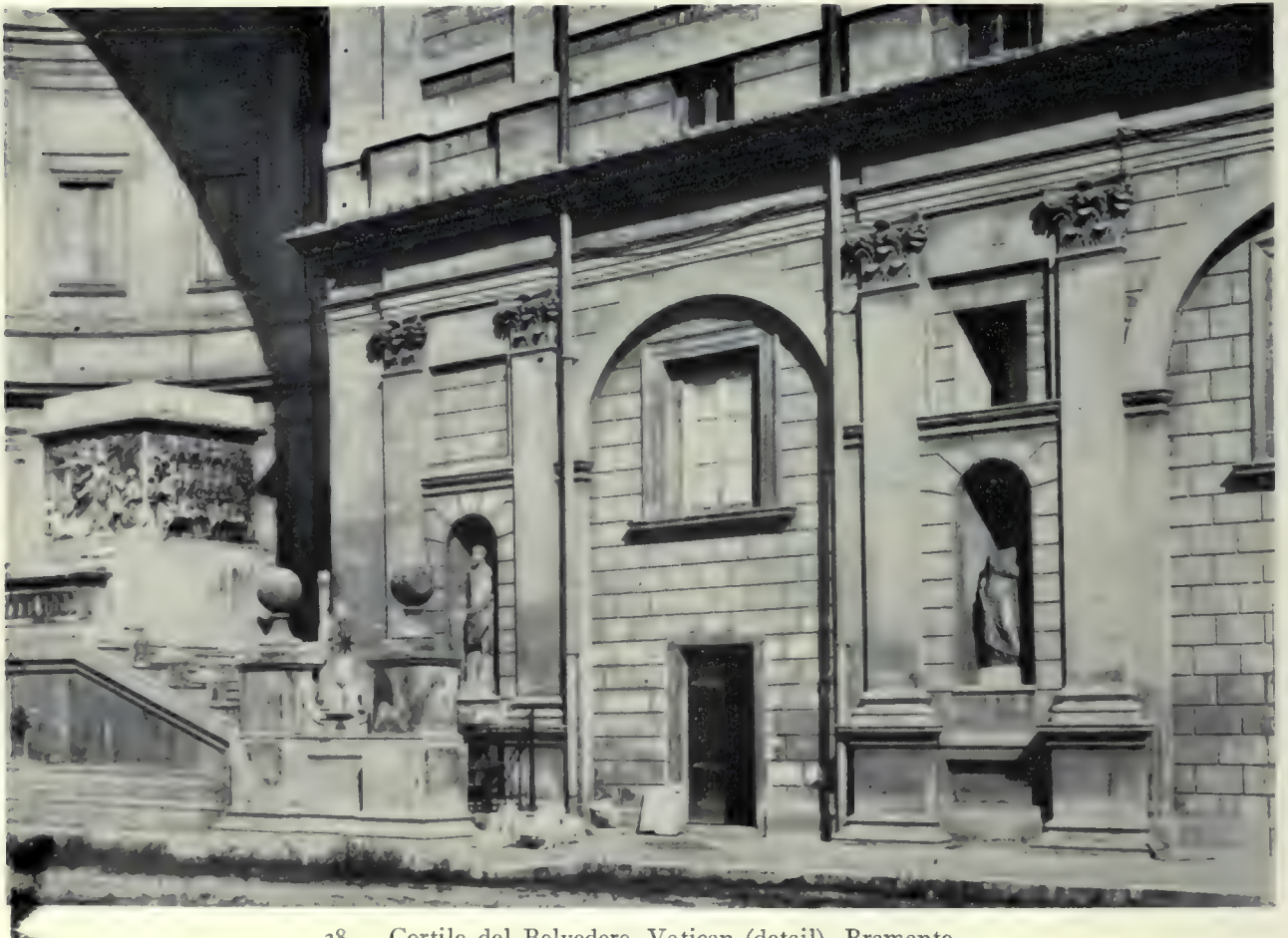
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36. - Palladian motive (S. Serlio).



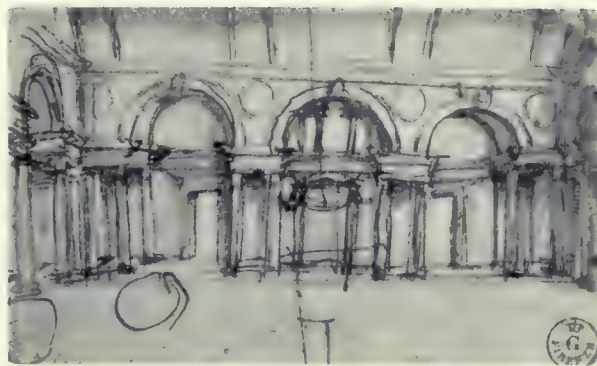
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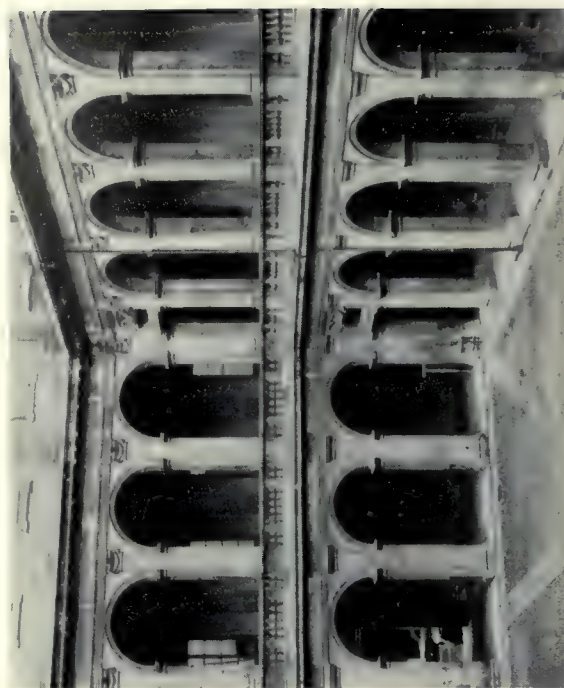
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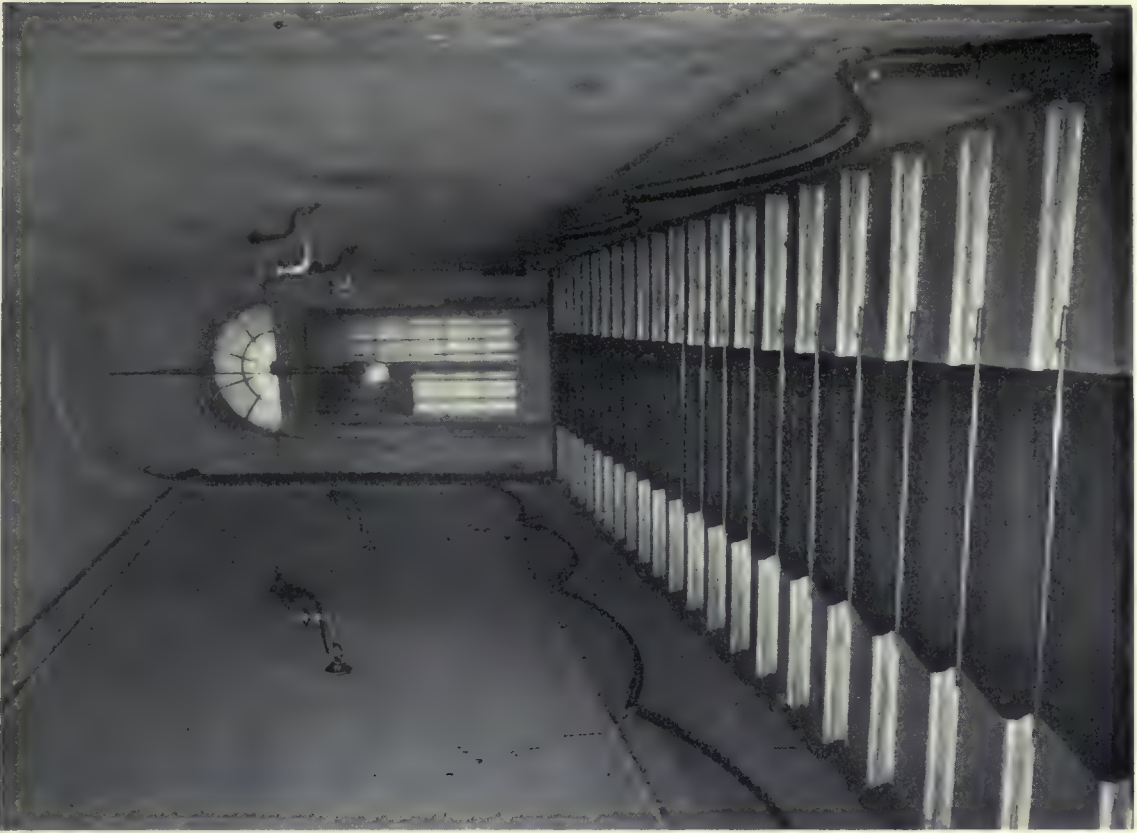
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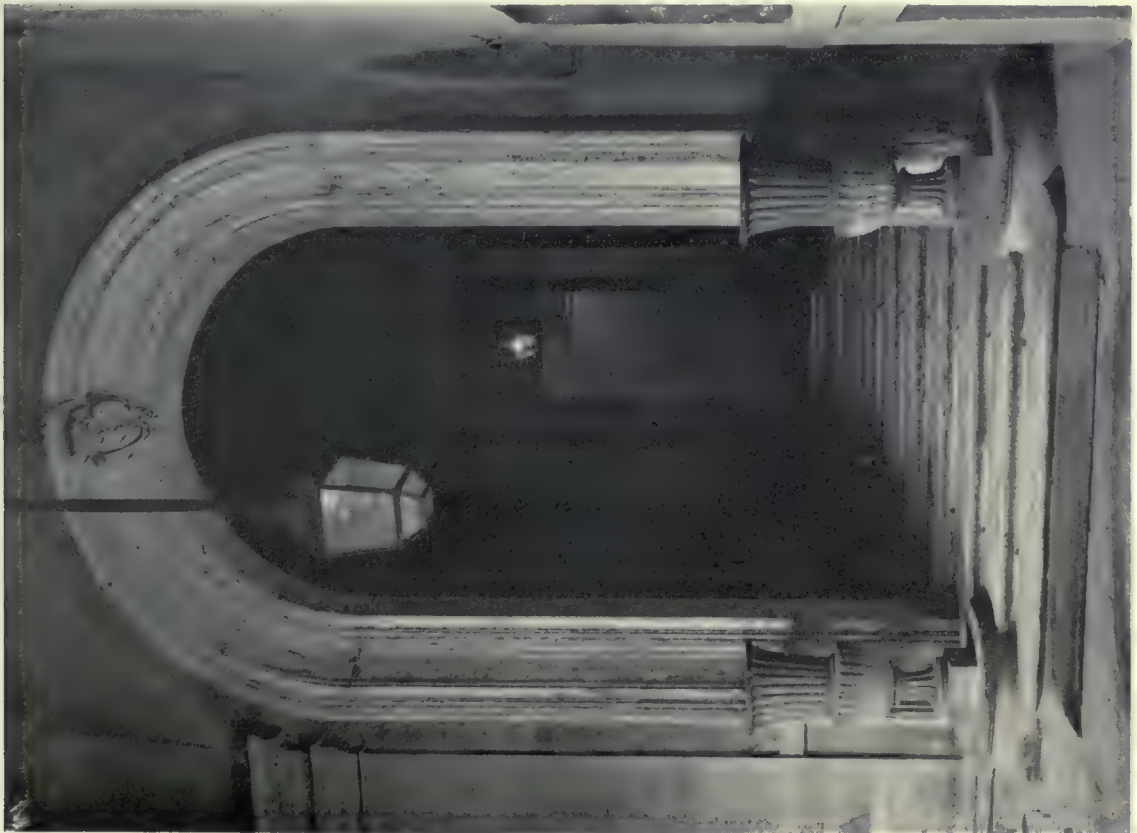
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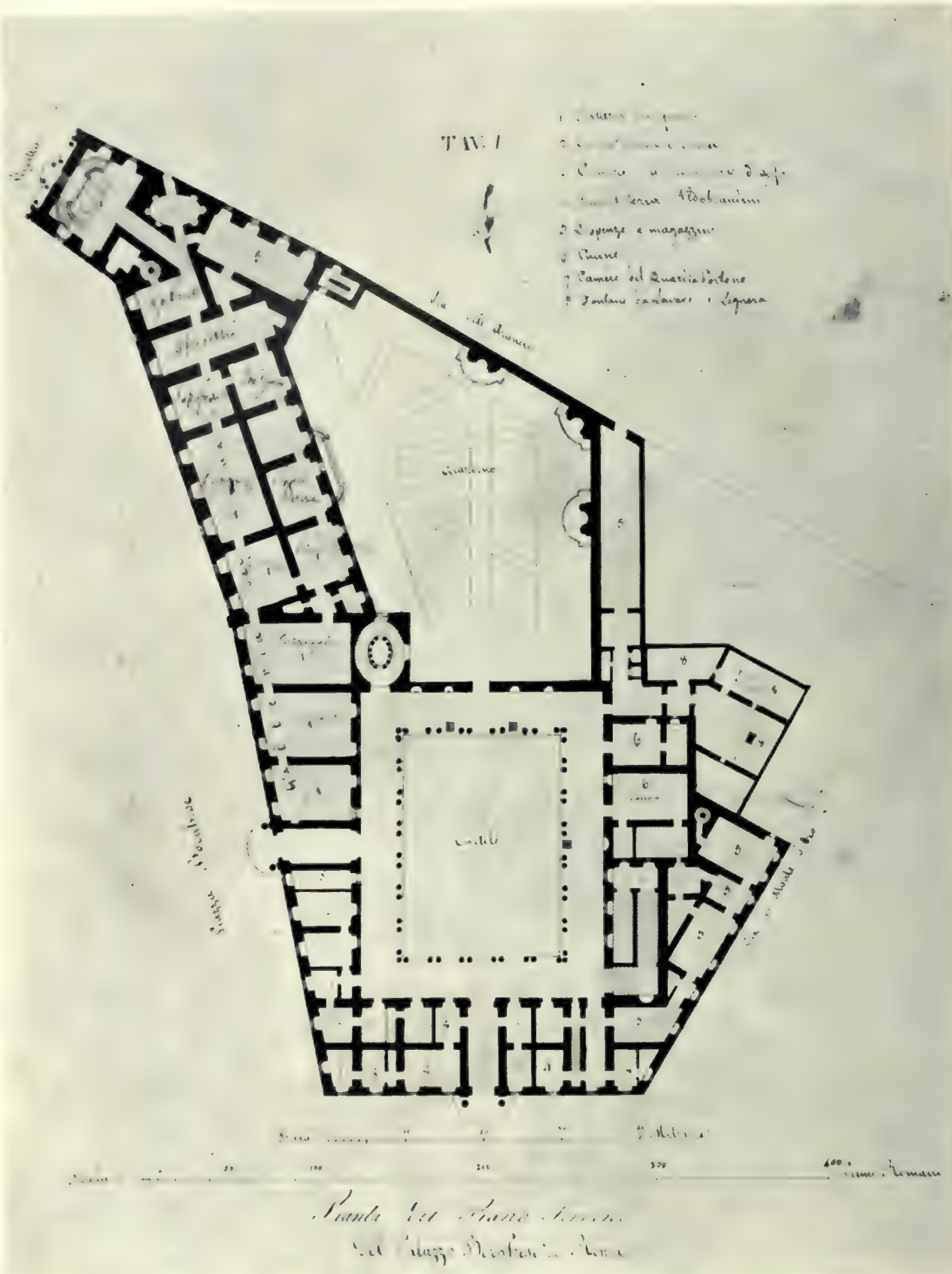
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46. - Palazzo Borghese. Main stairway.

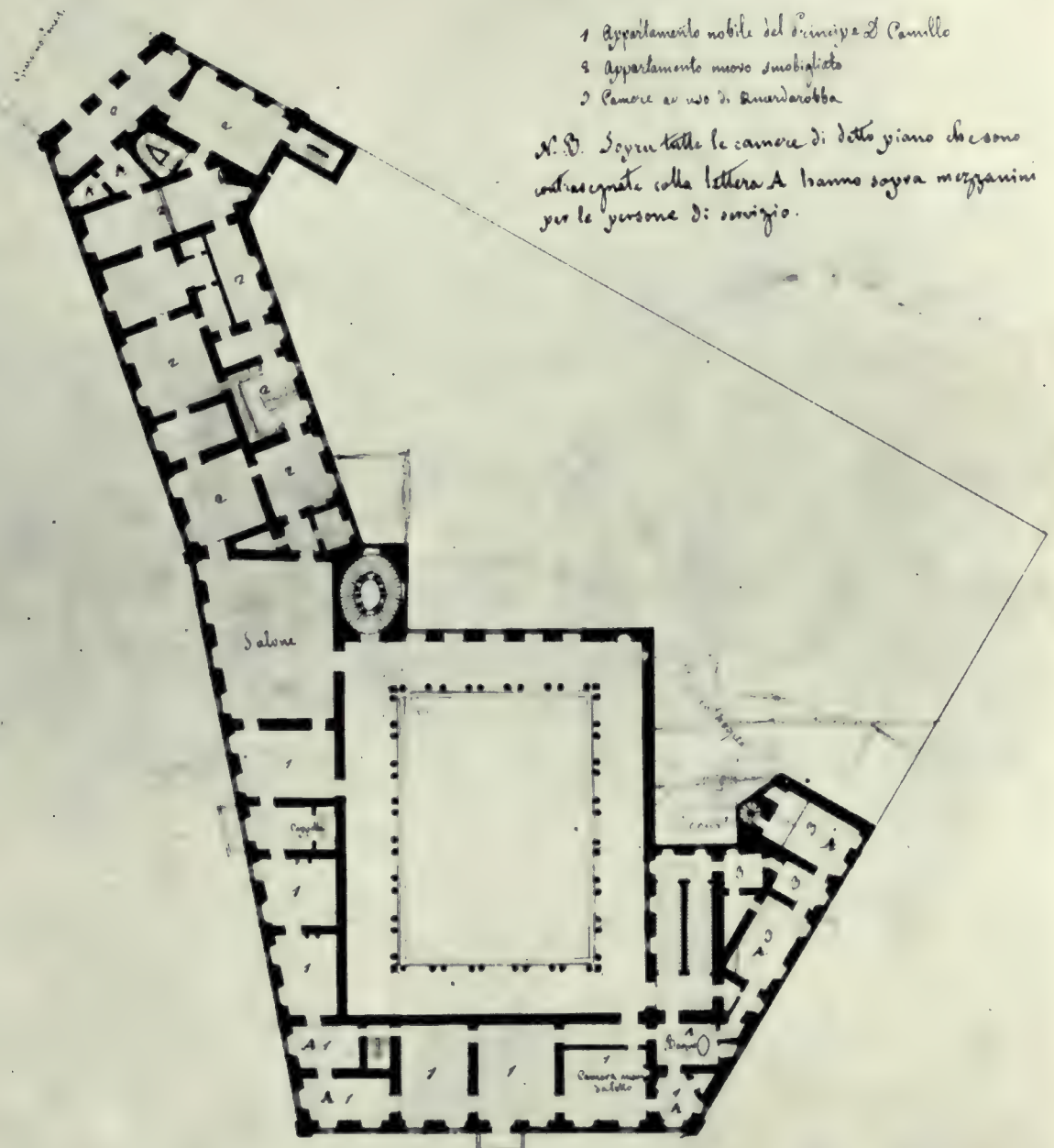


45. - Palazzo Borghese. Entrance to main stairway.



47. - Palazzo Borghese. 19th century plan of ground floor (AB-315).

TAV. III.

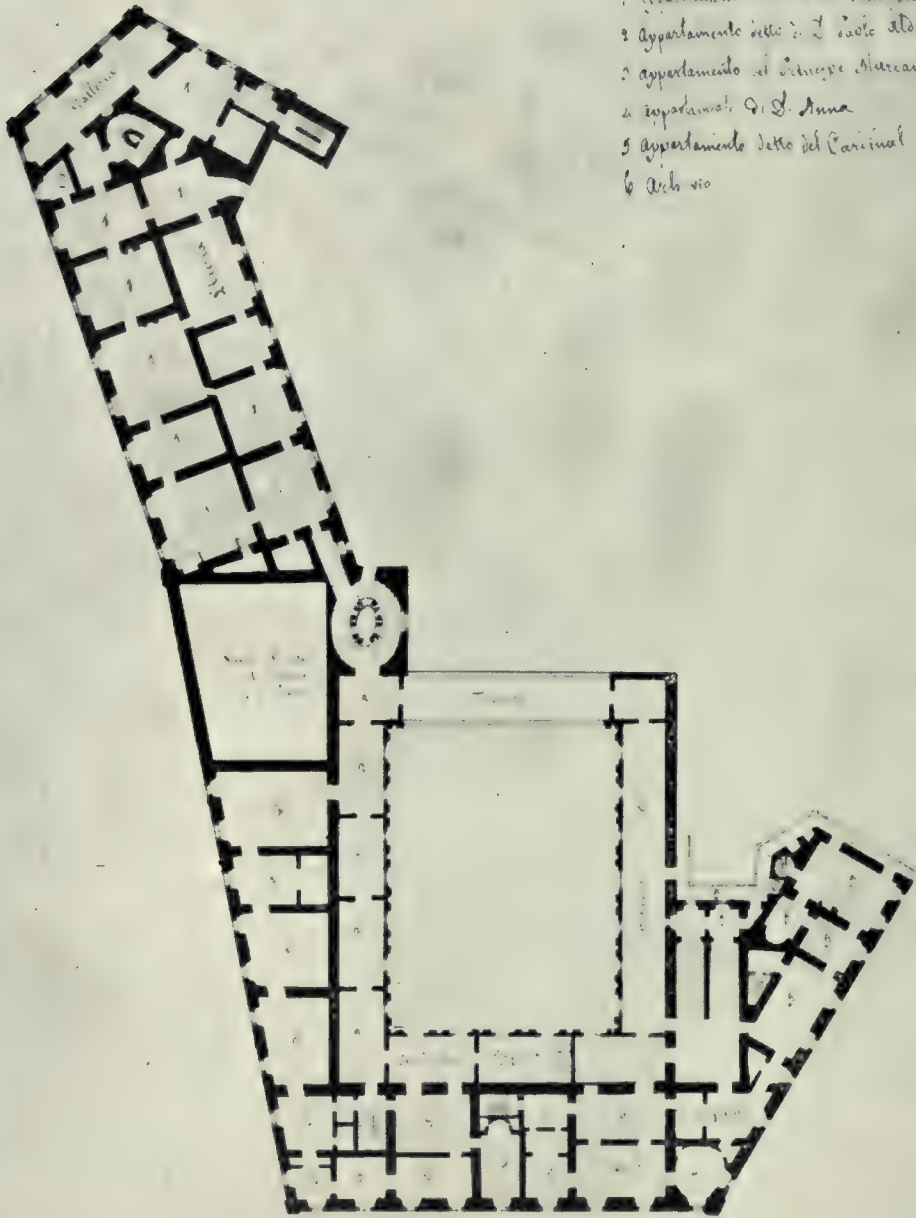


- 1 Appartamento nobile del Principe di Camillo
- 2 Appartamento nuovo subbietto
- 3 Camere al uso di guardarobba

N. B. Sopra tutte le camere di detto piano che sono contrassegnate colla lettera A hanno sopra mezzanine per le persone di servizio.

*Pianta del Piano Nobile
del Palazzo Borghese*

TAV. IV.

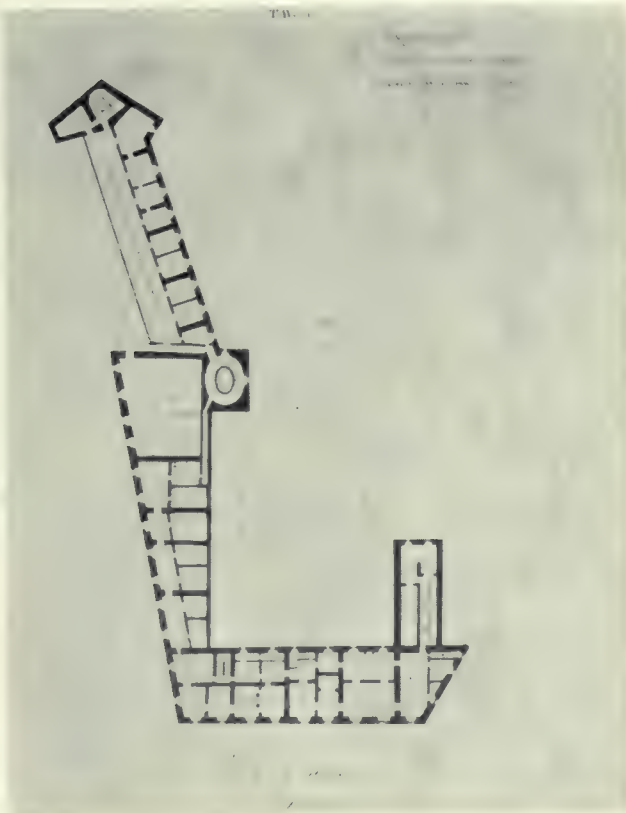


- 1 Appartamento detto della S. Margherita
- 2 Appartamento detto di S. Paolo Aldebrandini
- 3 Appartamento del Principe Marcantonio
- 4 Appartamento di S. Anna
- 5 Appartamento detto del Cardinal
- 6 Arch. vic.

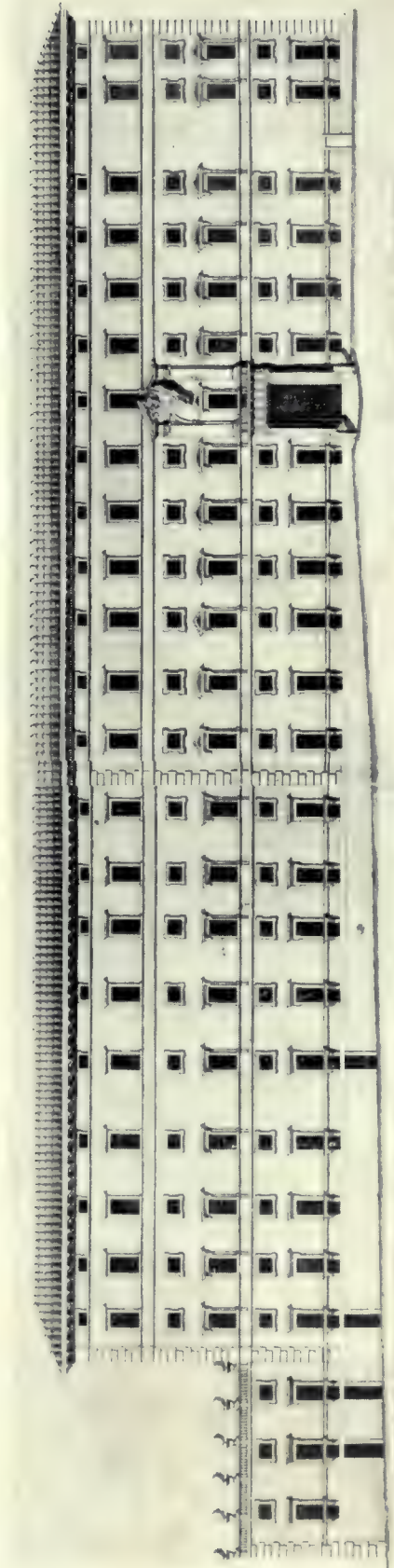
Palazzo Borghese - 2° piano
1870



50. - Palazzo Borghese. Plan of ground floor mezzanines.



51. - Palazzo Borghese. Plan of second floor mezzanines.

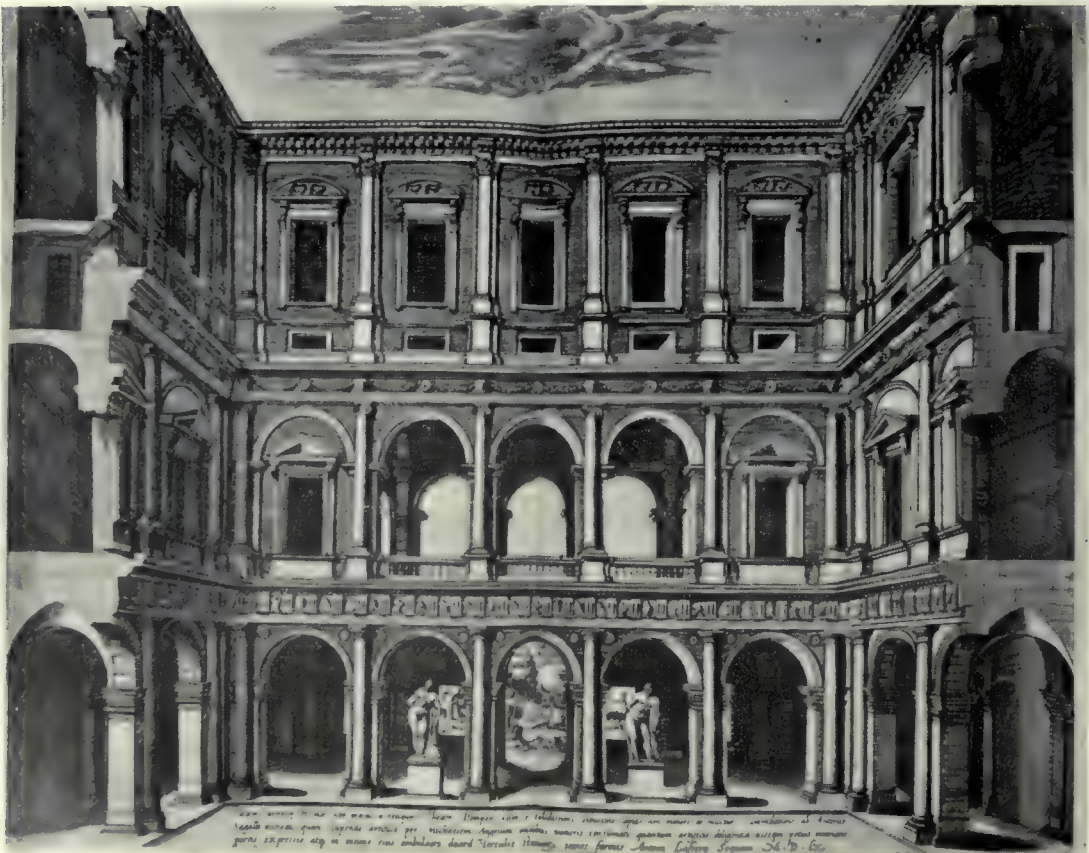


PALAZZO BORGHESI NEL MONO DI CAMPO MARCO SUIA PIAZZA BORGHESI ARCHITETTURA DI MARTINO FAVAGNI IL VECCHIO LA FONDA ORGONALE DI GIUSEPPE VENTURA DI FRANCESCO PONTIS

52. - Palazzo Borghese. Façade toward Piazza Borghese and Via Borghese (G. B. Falda, *Nuovi disegni* . . . , II).



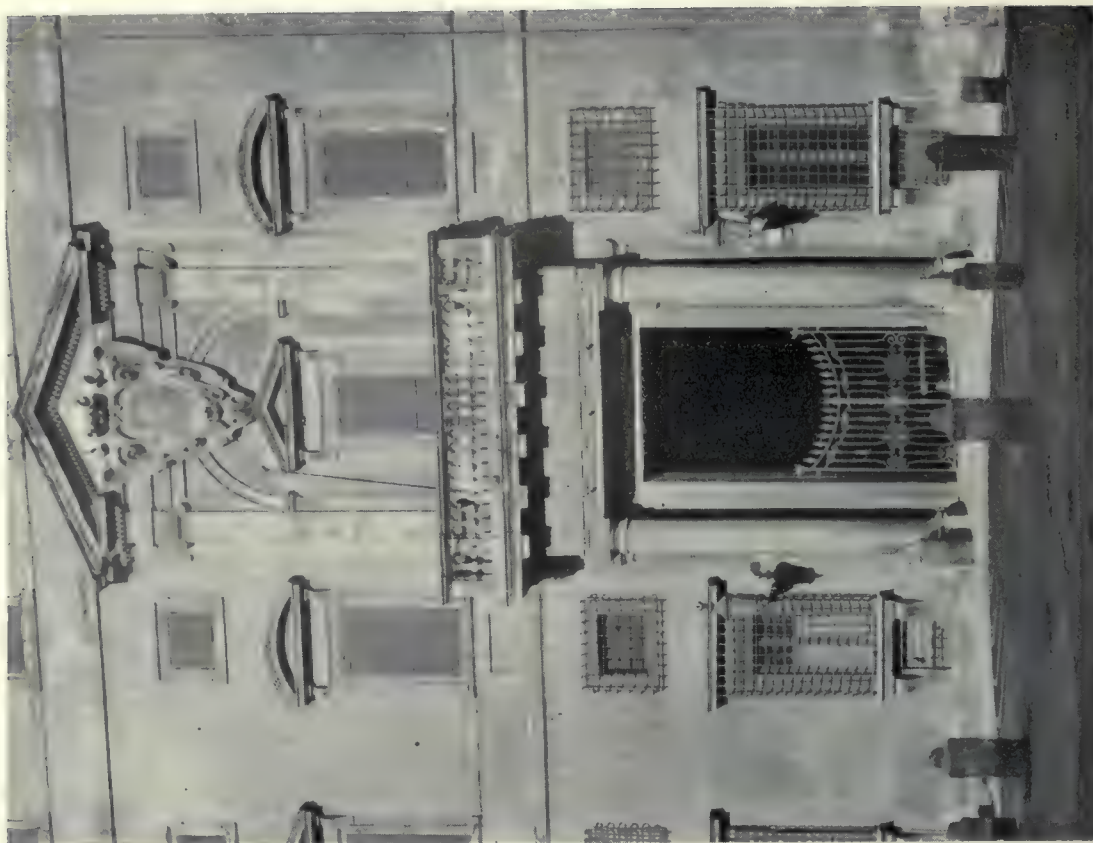
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54. - Michelangelo: project for completion of the Palazzo Farnese.



55. - Palazzo Borghese. Bridge loggia from court.



57. - Palazzo Borghese. Portal on Piazza Borghese.



56. - Palazzo Borghese. Spiral stair.



58. - Palazzo Borghese. Court.



59. - Palazzo Borghese. View toward façade block from bridge loggia.



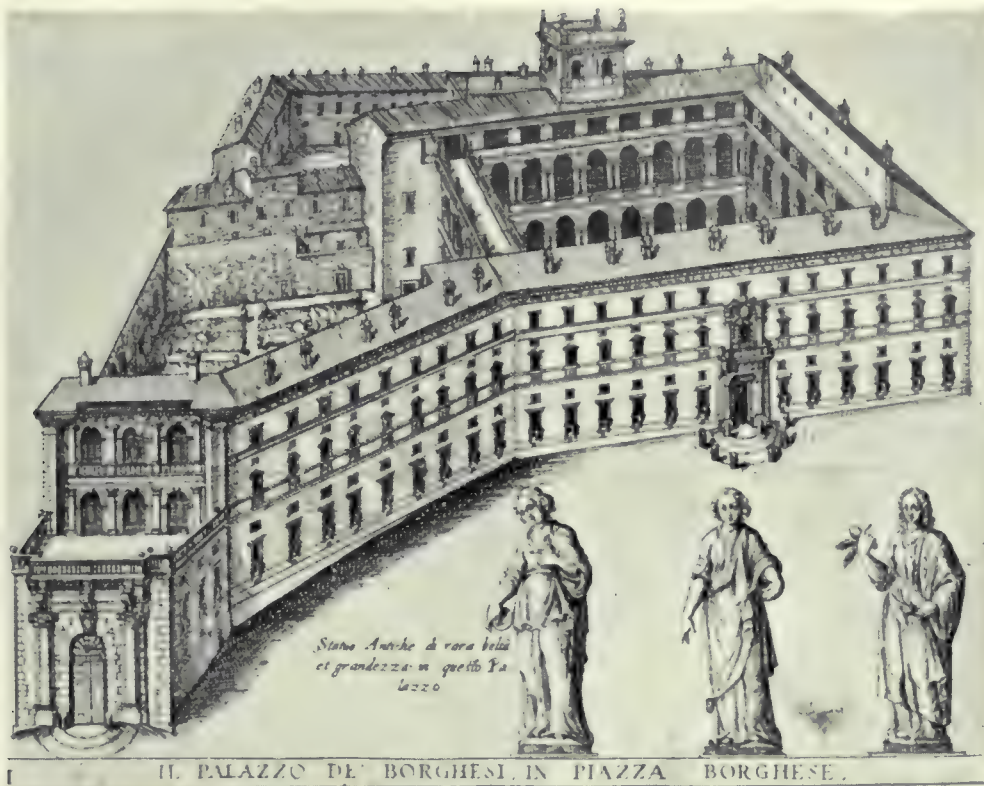
60. - Palazzo Borghese. Bridge loggia from garden.



61. - Palazzo Borghese. Transverse section through court.



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63. - Palazzo Borghese. (M. Greuter engraving, 1618).



64. - Palazzo Borghese. Façade on the Piazza Borghese.



65. - Palazzo Borghese. *Salone*, ceiling.



66. - Palazzo Borghese. *Salone*.



67. - Palazzo Borghese. Hanging garden.



CHIESA DI S. GIROLAMO DELLA NATIONE DE SCHIAV' NELLA REGIONE DI CAMPO MARZO A RIPETTA

Architettura di Martino Longhi il vecchio

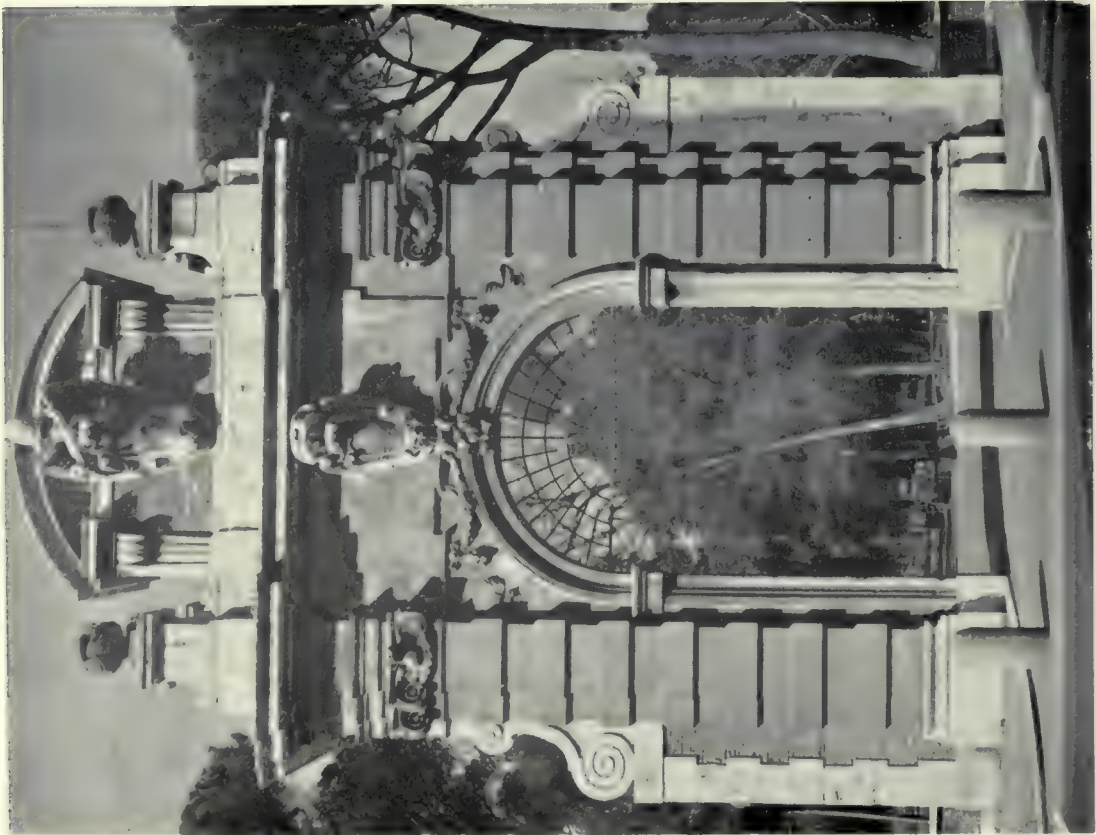
1 Loggia del Palazzo dell'Ecc^{mo} Sig Principe Borghese

2 Sbarco de' uini et altre mercantantie che uengono della Sabina

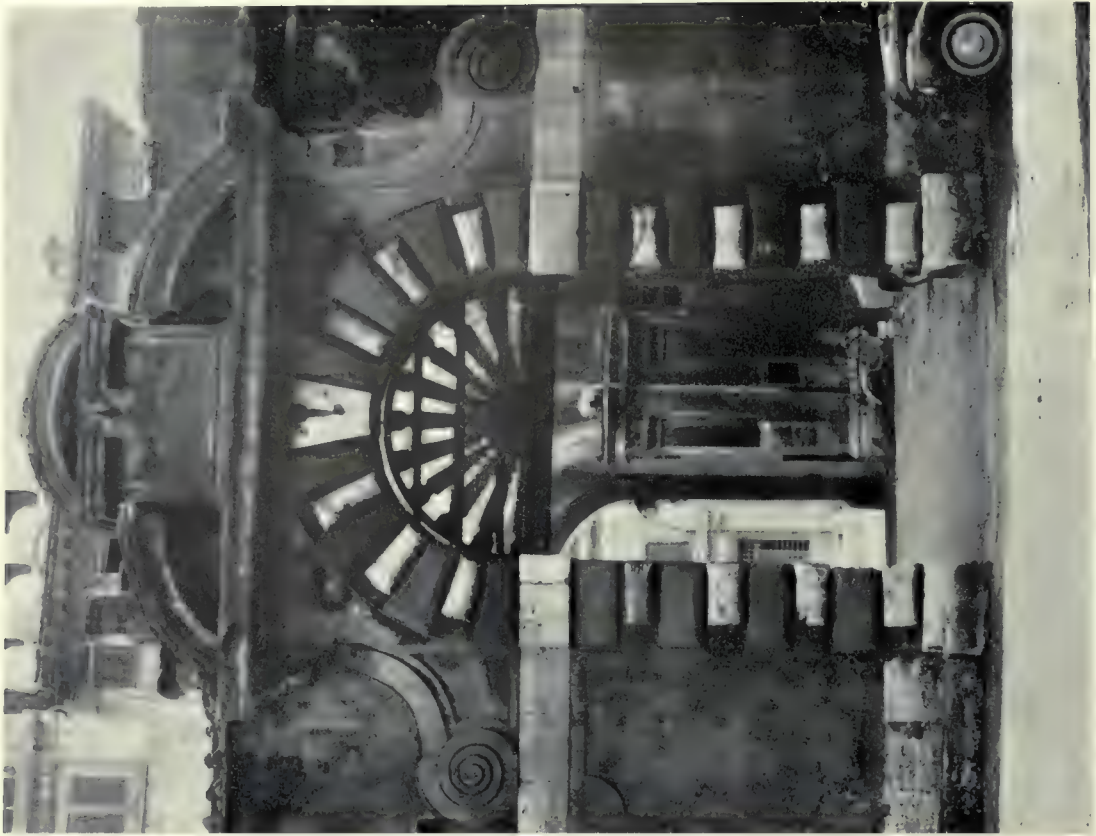
Una Basilica fatta dopo la fine

Per Gio:Lucaio Raffa di roma alla pace co' prui del 5 Pont.

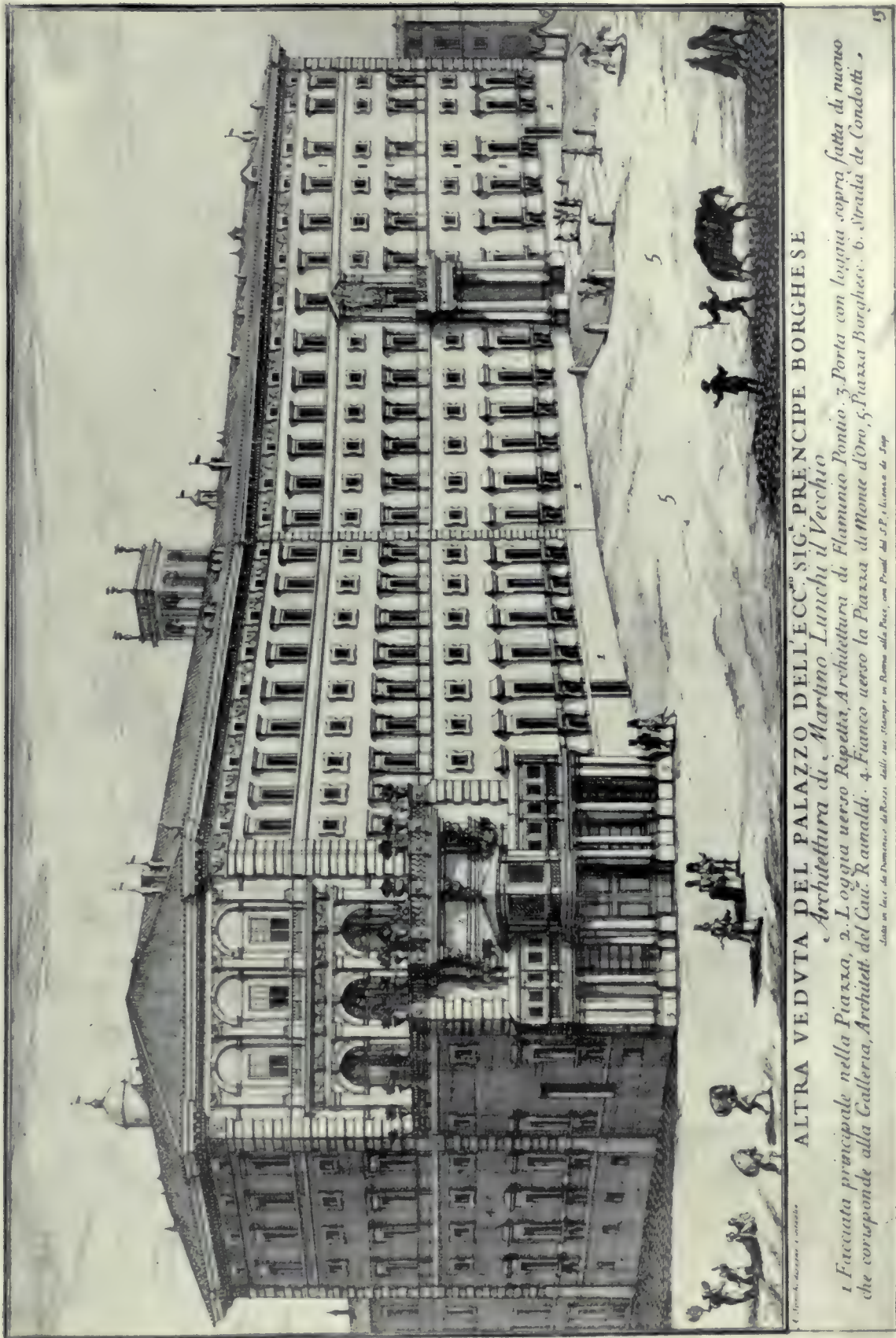
68. - The Ripetta port, ca. 1665 (G. B. Falda, *Il terzo libro del nuovo teatro...*).



69. - Villa Borghese. Entrance portal. Flaminio Ponzio.



70. - Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini. Side portal. Flaminio Ponzio.



ALTRA VEDUTA DEL PALAZZO DELL'ECCELLENTISSIMO PRINCIPE BORGHESE

Architettura di Martino Lunghi il Vecchio

1. Facciata principale nella Piazza, 2. L. oggi verso Ripetta, Architettura di Flaminio Pontio. 3. Porta con loggia sopra fatta di nuovo che corrisponde alla Galleria, Architettura del Cav. Rainaldi. 4. Fianco verso la Piazza di Monted'oro, 5. Piazza Borghese. 6. Strada de' Condotti.

Scitti in luce dal Dominico de' Rossi, dalle sue Stampe in Roma alla Pace, con Privil. del S.P. a' termini de' Reg.

71. - Palazzo Borghese. (A. Specchi, *Il nuovo teatro* . . . , IV).



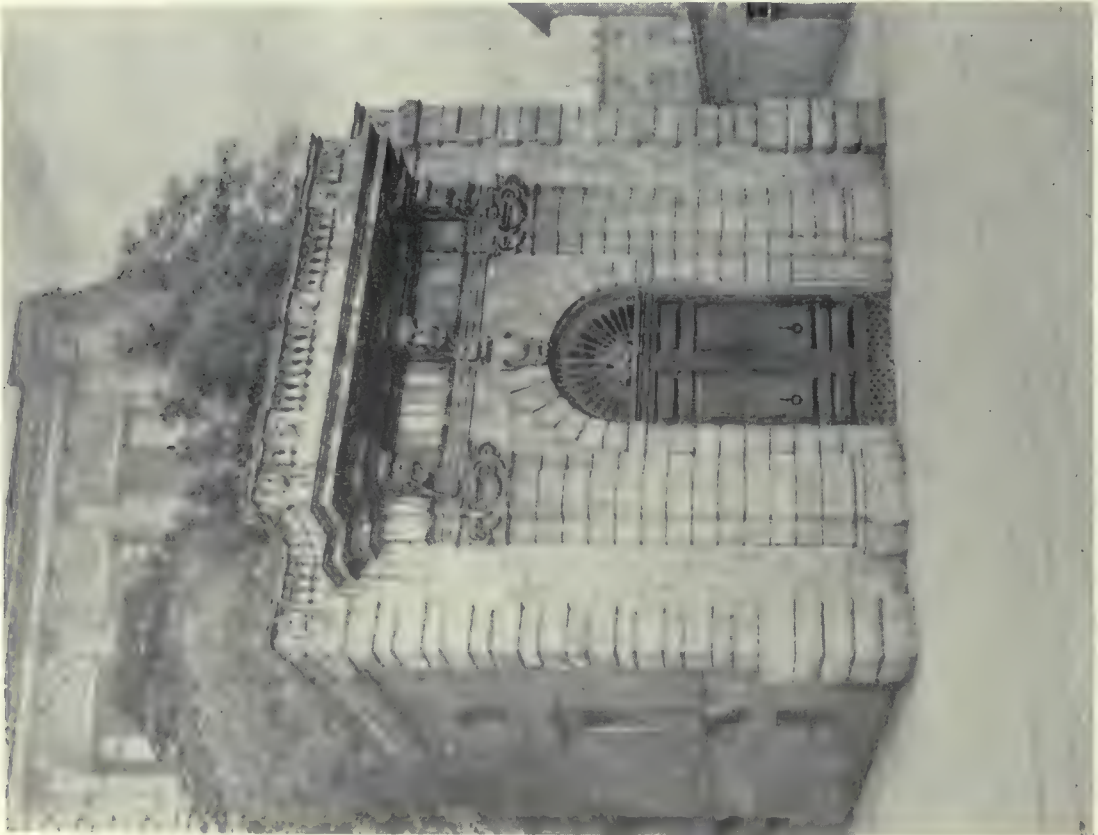
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73. - Palazzo Borghese. (A. Specchi engraving, ca. 1704, detail).



74. - View from Ripetta port (A. Specchi engraving, ca. 1704, detail).



75. - Palazzo Borghese. Reconstruction of 1612 14 Kipetta façade.



76. - Palace of Flaminio Ponzio. Façade (detail).

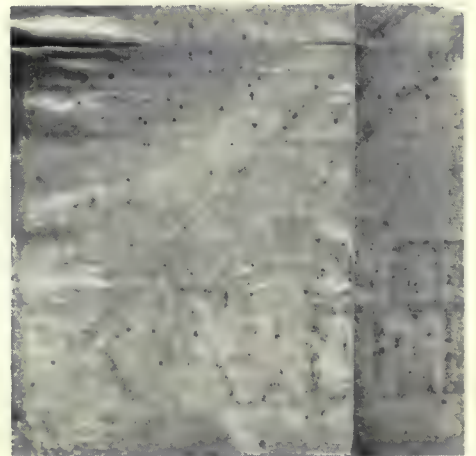
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79. - Detail of Fig. 78 (Heinrich Thelen).



77.



78.



79.



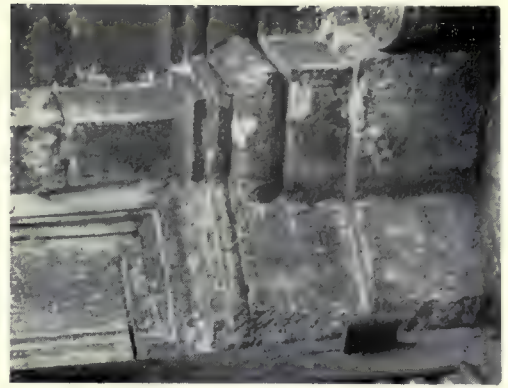
81. - Palazzo Borghese. Sala in Ripetta wing, ceiling.



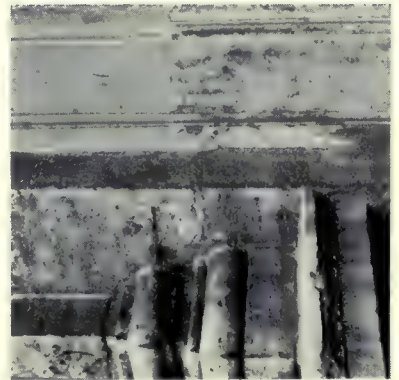
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83. - Palazzo Borghese. Door on court loggia of *piano nobile*, detail.



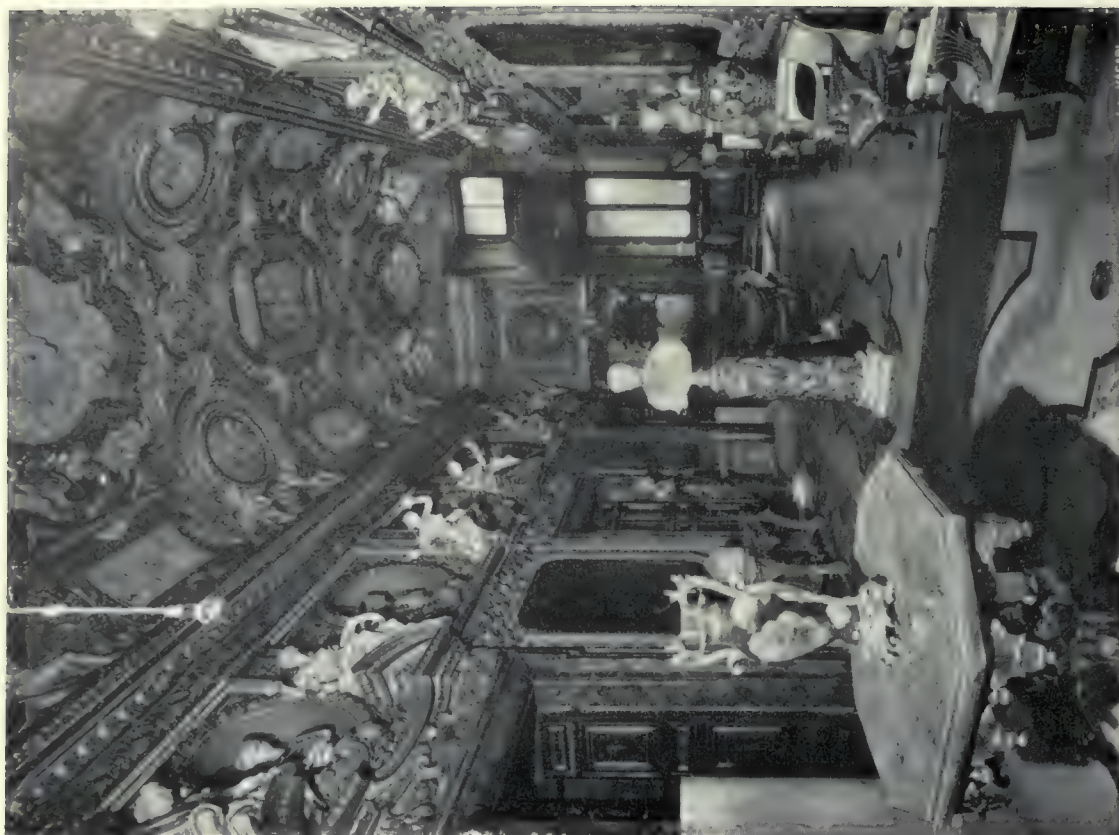
85. - Palazzo Borghese. Loggia on hanging garden, detail of perspective insert.



84. - Palazzo Borghese. Loggia on hanging garden, detail of perspective insert.



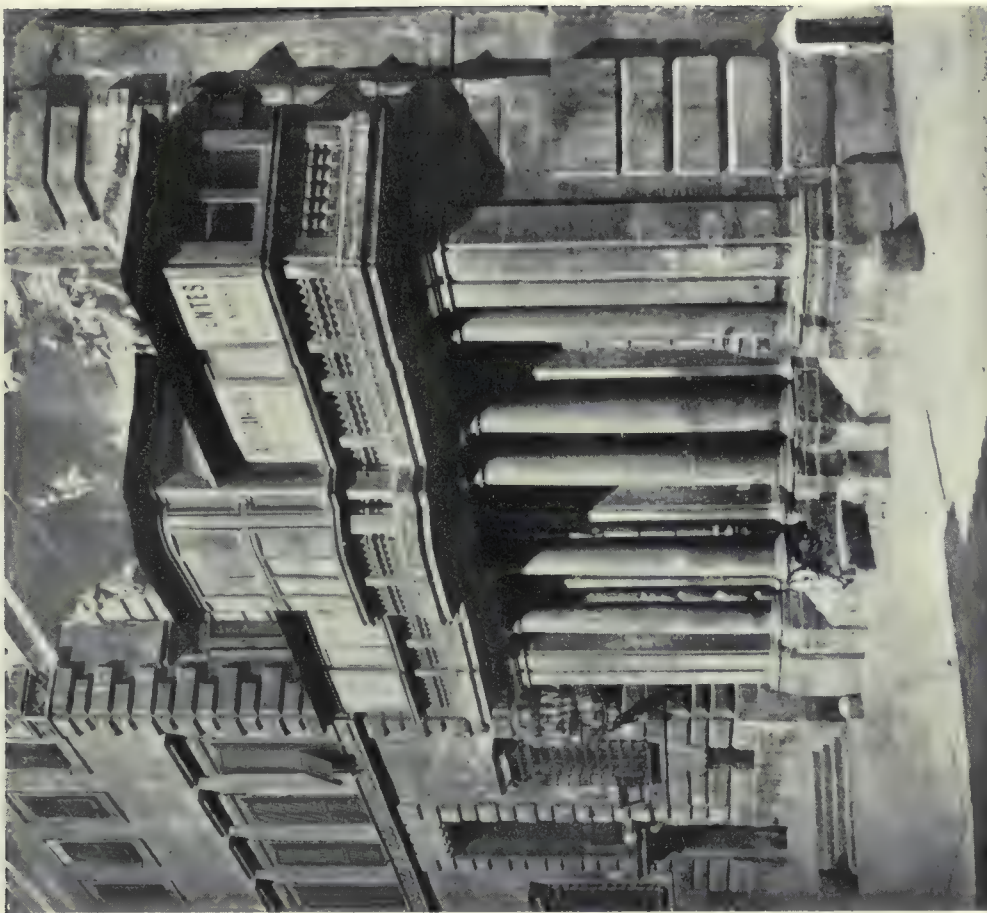
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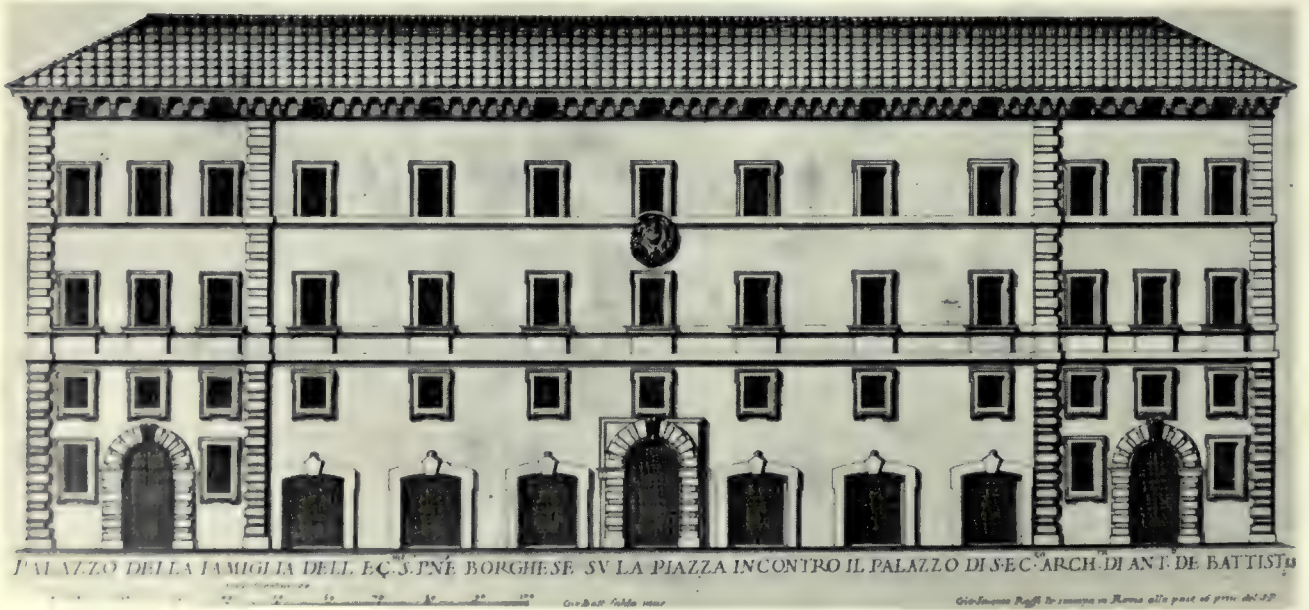
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88. - Palazzo Borghese. 19th century project for additions to the Ripetta wing (AB-8611).



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91. - Palazzo della Famiglia Borghese (G. B. Falda, *Nuovi disegni . . .*, II).

THE RECURRENT GEOMETRIC IN THE SCULPTURE
OF CENTRAL ITALY, AND ITS BEARING ON THE
PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ETRUSCANS

BY

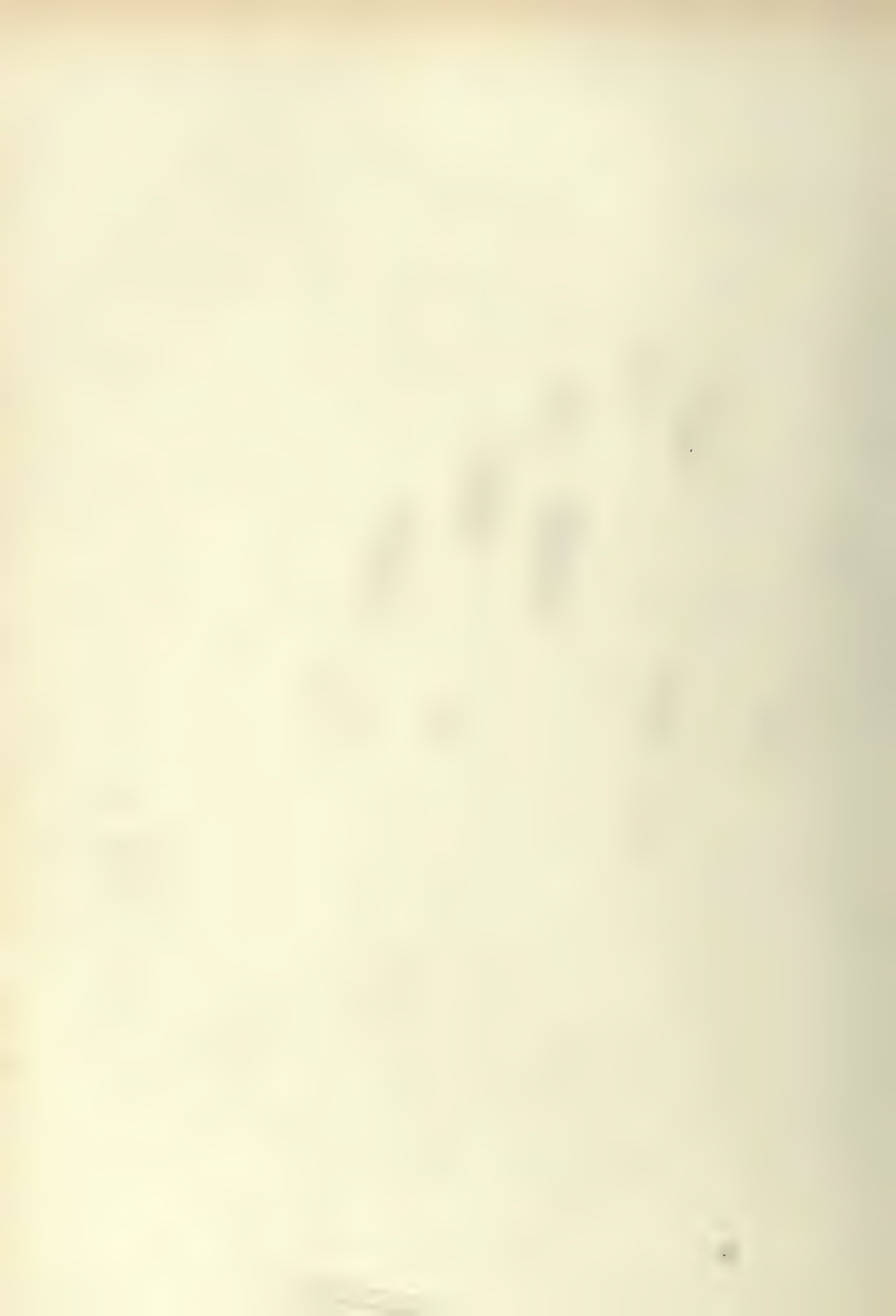
EMELINE HILL RICHARDSON

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THE RECURRENT GEOMETRIC IN THE SCULPTURE OF CENTRAL ITALY, AND ITS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ETRUSCANS

The following paper is a by-product of a work of many years on the untangling of the early chapters in the history of sculpture in central Italy. Although in the process of work I have had to give serious thought once again to the time-honored, if not threadbare, problem of the origin of the Etruscans, I find that I am in complete agreement with many modern Etruscan scholars who hold that it cannot be solved on archaeological evidence alone. However, the successive stages of development of central Italian sculpture furnish evidence whose bearing on this question has not been sufficiently considered, and which does serve to illuminate and will perhaps help to solve it.

George Hanfmann, in his book *Altetruskische Plastik I* (Würzburg 1936) was the first, so far as I know, to recognize that there were two distinct figure styles in Etruria toward the beginning of the seventh century B.C., an Italic style and an Orientalizing one, both of whose motifs were derived from the eastern Mediterranean. These two styles acted on one another and finally coalesced in the formation of the Etruscan figure style of the historic period. When he wrote his book, Dr. Hanfmann assumed that it was the inspiration of oriental importations and Orientalizing creations,—both provided to suit the taste of the immigrant oriental Etruscans,—that impelled the native Italic craftsmen to produce sculpture based on the types of eastern models but in a style peculiar to central Italy. This appears, after further study, not to be the true case. The Italic figure style (the Wiry Geometric style described below) first appears in late Villanovan tombs that are unmistakably earlier than the Orientalizing period, whereas sculpture in the Orientalizing style does not appear even as early as the first Orientalizing tombs, not, in fact, earlier than the great tombs of the Regolini-Galassi period.

The wiry Geometric figure style first appears at Tarquinia in graves of Archaic II,¹ the period of the *fossa* graves, of armor and vessels of hammered bronze, of gold and silver filigree jewelry and the beginning of the granulation technique, and of the first painted pottery in central Italy.² This pottery, wheel-made and of levigated clay, imitates Greek shapes and Greek Geometric designs in its decoration; some pieces were unquestionably imported from Greece, others seem to

¹ M. Pallottino, "Tarquinia," *MonAnt* 36 (1937) cols. 156-181.

² Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) col. 169. Å. Åkerström, *Der geometrische Stil in Italien* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom 9, Lund/Leipzig 1943) 51-100, 116-118.

have been made in Etruria by Greek artists.³ Stylistically, this Greek influence is the most important foreign element in the art of central Italy during Archaic II;⁴ to be sure, there are small trade objects in tombs of this period that must have come from Phoenicia or Egypt,—glass beads, scarabs and amulets of Egyptian faience,⁵—but there are as yet no Orientalizing elements in the decoration of the native bronzes and pottery.⁶

The cast bronzes of Archaic II, the Wiry Geometric figures, are creations of central Italian artists, but their repertory of types,—horse, duck, bull, man and woman,—is a more limited echo of the repertory of late Geometric Greek bronzes, and their style is comparable to that of the Greek figures.⁷ Like the painted pottery of Archaic II, the Wiry Geometric figures look to be the direct result of Greek influence on central Italy. It has been argued that the horsebits in the Wiry Geometric style are imitations of bronzes from Luristan, and that these do, in fact, represent the first Oriental influence on Italic art.⁸ But whether or not those particular *types* came from Luristan, the *style* did not; the influence of the East must have filtered through Greece on its way to Italy.

For many scholars, this period of the *fossa* graves was the time when the Etruscans migrated to Italy.⁹ The sudden enormous increase in wealth, the change of burial rite from almost universal cremation in Archaic I to predominant inhumation in Archaic II, the quantity of imported objects in the tombs,¹⁰ do, certainly, mark a change in the culture of central Italy. Except for the introduction of inhumation, however, the change is in degree rather than in kind: already in the graves of Archaic I at Tarquinia there were a few Egyptian scarabs and amulets, thin gold plaques, and native pottery modeled with animals' heads, apparently in imitation of the *askoi* of Greece and Cyprus.¹¹ Even the

³ A. Blakeway, "Prolegomena to the study of Greek commerce with Italy, Sicily and France in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.," *BSA* 33 (1932/33) 192-199. *Idem*, "'Demaratos,' A study in some aspects of the earliest Hellenization of Latium and Etruria," *JRS* 25 (1935) 129-134. Åkerstrom, *op. cit.*, (*supra* n. 2) 11, 52. H. Hencken, "Archaeological evidence for the origin of the Etruscans," *Ciba Foundation Symposium on Medical Biology and Etruscan Origins* (1958) 39.

⁴ Åkerstrom, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 111-113, argues that the whole Geometric style in Etruria was first of all a ceramic style based on Greek Geometric pottery styles and that it was transferred late in the Geometric period to the native bronze industry; but cf. Hencken, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 3) 37-38.

⁵ Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) col. 175 and n. 9.

⁶ Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) cols. 165-166. Åkerstrom, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) entire.

⁷ H. Hencken, "Horse Tripods of Etruria," *AJA* 61 (1957) 1.

⁸ C. Hopkins, "Oriental Evidence for early Etruscan Chronology," *Berytus* 11 (1955) 76-78, pl. 13 figs. 1-4, pl. 14 fig. 1.

⁹ D. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and early Etruscans* (Oxford 1924) 155-162. F. Schachermeyr, *Etruskische Frühgeschichte* (Berlin 1929) 131-132, 191, 200. N. Åberg, *Bronzezeitliche und früh-eisenzeitliche Chronologie, Teil I, Italien* (Stockholm 1930) 93-107. Schachermeyr's absolute chronology for the period of the *fossa* graves, like that of Randall-MacIver, is far too high.

¹⁰ Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 1) cols. 156-175.

¹¹ Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 1) cols. 144, 148. W. R. Bryan, *Italic Hut Urns and Hut Urn Cemeteries*, *PAAR* 4 (1925) 93-94, 96, 106-107. O. Montelius, *La Civilization Primitive en Italie depuis l'Introduction des Metaux II* (Stockholm 1910) pl. 276, figs. 15, 16, 26; pl. 277, figs. 2, 5; pl. 280. Hencken, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 3) 37.

comparatively poor burials of Latium had their scraps of gold wire,¹² and six of them contained the first statuettes of central Italy (the Primitives); the very notion of a human figure seems to be foreign to the urn fields of northern Europe, and another piece of evidence for some connection with the eastern Mediterranean.¹³

The difference between Archaic I and Archaic II seems best explained as the effect of intensified contact with the more civilized lands of the eastern Mediterranean, particularly Greece;¹⁴ even the change from cremation to inhumation is no sure sign of a change in population,—the same thing happened in Athens during the Geometric period.¹⁵ If Archaic I can be called the Villanovan period,¹⁶ Archaic II should be called, not early Etruscan, but Advanced Villanovan.

An overwhelming change took place at the beginning of the next, the Orientalizing period, Professor Pallottino's Archaic III. It is here that I think we must introduce the Etruscans, early in the seventh century, if perhaps not at its very beginning.¹⁷ It is not enough to say, as Pallottino does, that Orientalizing styles appear all over the western Mediterranean in the seventh century, and that the introduction of a new style does not prove the migration of a new people.¹⁸ Granted both these objections, no such phenomenon as the sudden appearance of the great Orientalizing tombs occurred anywhere but in Etruria and Latium in central Italy. This Orientalizing culture is a special phenomenon. For one thing, it is the only literate culture in Italy, except that of the Greek cities of Magna Graecia. Its wealth is enormous, and not only are there great quantities of imported objects found in tombs of this period, the change is also in the kind of object: now, for the first time, appear bronze vessels with repoussé decorations in the Assyrian style,¹⁹ silver-gilt Phoenician bowls, ivory, alabaster

¹² Bryan, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 20, 47.

¹³ G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Altetruskische Plastik I, Die menschliche Gestalt in der Rundplastik bis zum Ausgang der orientalisierenden Kunst* (Würzburg 1936) 4.

¹⁴ Cf. Blakeway, "Demaratos," *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 3) 134. O. W. von Vacano, *Die Etrusker in der Welt der Antike*, (Hamburg 1957) 66-69. Hencken, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 3), 37-38, the second Villanovan period is also characterized by new elements derived from northern Europe.

¹⁵ *Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen. Archaeologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches* (Berlin 1939-1954) I, 180, 257-261; IV, 1-4; V, 6-12. G. Karo *An Attic Cemetery, Excavations in the Kerameikos at Athens under Gustav Oberlaender and the Oberlaender Trust* (Philadelphia 1943) 7-8, 11. R. S. Young, "Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora," *Hesperia: Supplement 2* (1939) 13, 17-18.

¹⁶ Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) cols. 149-150; Hencken, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 3) 37; Mr. Åkerstrom's argument, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 158-159, that the cremation tombs of the "Villanovans" are all contemporary with the "Geometric" inhumation burials, cannot be accepted.

¹⁷ Åkerstrom, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 156-158. The first "Orientalizing" tomb is the Bocchoris tomb at Tarquinia, G. Karo, "Orient und Hellas in archaischer Zeit," *AM* 45 (1920) 108-115; Mrs. Dohan, *Italic Tomb Groups in the University Museum* (Philadelphia 1942) 107-108, dates this ca. 670 B.C. Hencken, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 3) 41-43, figs. 12-18, compares material from the tomb with early seventh century Greek material.

¹⁸ M. Pallottino, *Etruscologia* (4th ed. Milan 1957) 73; P. Marconi, "La Cultura orientalizzante nel Piceno," *MonAnt* 35 (1935) cols. 265-443, especially 432-443 for the very different effect of the Orientalizing period in Etruria and in Picenum.

¹⁹ Or Urartian? K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, "Urartian Bronzes in Etruscan Tombs," *Iraq* 18 (1956) 150-167; M. Pallottino, "Gli scavi di Karmir-Blur in Armenia e il problema delle connessioni

and the like.²⁰ With the new importations comes a new repertory of decorative elements: the Phoenician palmette, marching lions, winged monsters,²¹—and a new figure style in sculpture. The Wiry Geometric figures created during Archaic II, with their liveliness and excited gestures, give way, if only gradually, before figures designed with full heavy forms, in tranquil poses, with hieratic gestures, the whole frozen and immobile within a closed outline.

The bronze sculpture of the Orientalizing period should be divided into three groups: (1) a continuation of the Wiry Geometric style of Archaic II; (2) a reworking of the old Geometric types in the new Orientalizing style, the Orientalized-Geometric series; and (3) a completely new repertory of types whose costumes and gestures are unmistakably derived from the Near East, as is their style. By the end of the Orientalizing period, this third group has entirely superseded the old Geometric repertory of types, and it is the source from which the statuary types of the historic period are derived.

This gradual disappearance of the figure types created by the Wiry Geometric school and their replacement by new types whose antecedents are Near Eastern rather than Greek and whose style is based on Assyrian prototypes can best be attributed to the presence of the Etruscans in Italy. The statuettes under consideration are not purely decorative, but ex-votos and tomb figures, and therefore of ritual significance. A real change in ritual must have taken place during the course of the seventh century; and by the time when Corinthian pottery began to be imported to Etruria, (the last phase of Pallottino's Archaic III),²² the new hieratic types were firmly established.

Most examples of the new types were modeled in a style that is an amalgamation of the old Wiry Geometric and the new Orientalizing, the first truly Etruscan figure style. Some, however, are produced in a new Geometric style (the Formal Geometric); attitudes and costumes are the same as those of the first Etruscan figure style, but the design of the figures is an abstraction of the human form that recalls, though it does not really repeat, the Wiry Geometric style. This marks the second appearance in central Italy of a strong tendency toward a Geometric sculpture style; it is contemporary with the first Etruscan figure style, and the bronzes are found in the same regions of northern Etruria. The persistence of an instinct to geometrize, though it is only an underground movement, is noteworthy.

tra l'Urartu, la Grecia e l'Etruria," *ArchCl* 7 (1955) 117-118; *Idem*, "Etruria ed Urartu, nota di aggiornamento," *ArchCl* 9 (1957) 90-93; Hencken, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 3) 41-42. R. S. Young, in a letter to the author, February 1959, suggests that the cauldron stand from the Bernardini tomb may be neo-Hittite rather than Urartian.

²⁰ F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* (Berlin 1912) 24-27; Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) 210-213, pls. 38-39; H. Mühlestein, *Die Kunst der Etrusker, die Ursprünge* (Berlin 1929) figs. 1-20, 27-47; C. D. Curtis, "The Bernardini Tomb," *MAAR* 3 (1919), p. 15; nos. 23-26, pp. 33-45, pls. 12-23; no. 75, pp. 72-75, pls. 52-54; *Idem*, "The Barberini Tomb," *MAAR* 5 (1925) no. 20, pp. 22-23, pl. 7; R. D. Barnett, "Early Greek and Oriental Ivories," *JHS* 68 (1948) 3-4; Y. Huls, *Ivoires d'Etrurie*. (Études de Philologie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Anciennes publié par l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome IV, 1957) 33-65, 137-175, nos. 1-64, pls. 1-30.

²¹ Dohan, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 17) 106; Karo, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 17) 110-111.

²² Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) cols. 228-229.

Yet another Geometric figure style developed in the fifth century in Umbria, at a time when that region was only slightly influenced by the neighboring culture of Etruria.²³ Umbria was never Etruscan in language or culture, and these Umbrian Geometric bronzes (the Mannerist Geometric) are not at all like contemporary Etruscan figures, except in type. The very fact that the Umbrians, when they first took to designing statuettes, created a Geometric style in the teeth, as it were, of the flourishing Etruscan classic style illuminates the significant difference between the Etruscan tradition and the Italic. The instinct of the Italic peoples was to create Geometric styles,—first the Wiry Geometric, preceding the Orientalizing; then the Formal Geometric, at odds with the Etruscan figure style of the late seventh century; third the Mannerist Geometric, on the periphery of classical Etruria.

It is the development of these three Geometric styles and their relationships with the Orientalizing and later Etruscan figure styles that will be described here. Two much later Geometric styles that appeared in Etruria during the Hellenistic period,—the Yardstick and the Hellenistic Mannerist groups,²⁴ are not discussed. I have not yet been able to decide what they signify, or why they developed. The costumes prove that the bronzes are late (all of the Yardstick group represent priests or priestesses); they have been found in many parts of Etruria and Latium; conceivably they mark the presence of “unreconstructed” Italic in central Italy even as late as the second century B.C.

ARCHAIC I: THE PRIMITIVES.

The history of sculpture in central Italy in the Iron Age begins with the Hut Urn Idols of the Alban Hills.²⁵ In six Hut Urn burials a terracotta statuette formed part of the tomb furniture.²⁶ The figurines represent nude men or women (one or two are of indeterminate sex) standing in a formal frontal pose, their arms disposed in ritual gestures. Although some figures are more elaborate than others, the proportions of the bodies follow a consistent formula: long, conical neck; long, heavy torso, broad rather than deep; short, thick arms; short, thick legs, well separated; big feet. The design of the heads varies greatly from one

²³ L. Banti, “Contributo alla storia ed alla topografia del territorio perugino,” *StEtr* 10 (1936) 114.

²⁴ Yardstick figures: G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* (Milan 1935) pl. 222, figs. 7 and 9; *Idem*, “Su alcuni bronzetti etruschi” *StEtr* 22 (1952/53) 52, fig. 2. O. W. von Vacano, *Die Etrusker, Werden und geistige Welt* (Stuttgart 1955) 448, pl. 86 a and b. Hellenistic Mannerist: von Vacano, *ibid.* pl. 86 c; L. Goldscheider, *Etruscan Sculpture* (New York/Oxford 1941) pl. 78.

²⁵ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 2-4; F. von Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde*. I (Heidelberg, 1924) 401-402; H. Müller-Karpe, “Vom Anfang Roms” *RömMitt*, Ergänzungsheft 5 (1959) 51-56, pls. 11, 12, 13, 14.

²⁶ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 2-3, lists five; a sixth is in the Museo Preistorico at Rome, without inventory number. From Rocca di Papa (San Lorenzo Vecchio), female, Ht. 0.157 m.; Müller Karpe, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 25) 51, pl. 11.

example to another. The head of one figure (no. 6, fig. 3) is small and beaky, swelling to a knob at the top, with low, prominent ears like jug handles, pierced for earrings, another's (no. 2, fig. 1 c) is similar, but larger and rounder in outline, and set on a shorter neck. Two other heads look rather more human (nos. 3 and 4, figs. 1 b and 1 a),—the ears are reduced to small knobs, the nose and chin, and in one case, the eyes, are clearly indicated. One has no head at all, the long neck ending smoothly like those of some early Cycladic idols (no. 5, fig. 2).²⁷

Though these clumsy figures are the most genuine of primitives, the group as a whole is evidence for a definite local figure style in Latium in the first period of the Iron Age. The elements that made up this style were evidently of mixed origin: in proportions, the figures are remarkably like a small Submycenaean bronze figure from Crete,²⁸ whose attitude, like that of nos. 2 and 3 (fig. 1 b and c), is the "encircling gesture" made by a number of primitive figures in Greece and the Near East as well as in Italy (*infra* p. 186, fig. 61).²⁹ The attitude of two other Hut Urn idols (nos. 5 and 6, figs. 2 and 3) seems to have no eastern ante-type: the figure pours a libation with the right hand, while the left arm hangs free at the side; in the single case where the left hand is preserved (no. 6, fig. 3) it is open, with the fingers spread. This attitude of prayer and offering was to be used for centuries in Italy.³⁰

These terracotta statuettes are the first evidence from Italy of the practice of burying figures of a ritual kind (as opposed to purely decorative figures) with the dead, a practice not uncommon in the Near East and Greece, and a common, though far from universal, practice in Etruscan tombs of later periods.³¹

²⁷ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 4; V. Müller, *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien* (Augsburg 1929) pl. 2, figs. 37-48. The Cretan connections with Latin hut urn figures are discussed in detail by Müller-Karpe, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 25). His excellent study was published after I had completed this article.

²⁸ Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) 63 pl. 19, figs. 267, 269.

²⁹ Greece: Olympia; E. Curtius, F. Adler, *Olympia. Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung* (Berlin 1890) IV. *Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde*, herausgegeben von A. Furtwängler, pl. 16, fig. 237 (Inv. 11194); pl. 15, figs. 234, 261; Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) pl. 22, figs. 288, 290. Delphi: École française d'Athènes. *Fouilles de Delphes* V. P. Perdrizet, *Monuments figurés, petits bronzes, terres-cuites, antiquités diverses* (Paris 1908) pl. 1 no. 5 (Inv. 822); Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) pl. 24, fig. 297. Syria: Berlin Antiquarium. Müller, *ibid.* 121, pl. 43, fig. 411. Another, pl. 39, fig. 388.

³⁰ M. Renard, "On a small bronze from Cervetri and a series of Etruscan figures," *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson* (St. Louis 1951) I, 747-753, pl. 91, figs. a and c, pl. 92, fig. c.

³¹ In addition to the canopic jars and later ash urns from Chiusi in the form of a human figure (cf. Giglioli, *op. cit.* [*supra* n. 24] pl. 60, figs. 1 and 2; pls. 61, 62, 63, 231-235; von Vacano, *op. cit.* [*supra* n. 24] pls. 24-28, 31, 35-36 a), there are the mourning women in bucchero from the Regolini-Galassi tomb (L. Pareti, *La tomba Regolini-Galassi del museo gregoriano etrusco e la civiltà dell'Italia centrale nel sec. VII A.C.* [Vatican City 1947] 272-281, no. 233, pl. 28; von Vacano, *ibid.* pl. 63); the stone figures from the Pietrera tumulus (Hanfmann, *op. cit.* [*supra* n. 13] 37-51; R. Pincelli, "Il tumulo vetuloniese della Pietrera," *StEtr* 17 [1943] 64-82, pl. 8); three seated terracotta figures from a tomb at Cerveteri (G. Q. Giglioli, "Le tre statue fittili del VII sec. A. C. trovate a Caere," *StEtr* 22 [1952-53] 319-328, figs. 1-5; von Vacano, *ibid.* pls. 32-33); the stone goddess and the bronze half-figure of a woman from the Polledrara tomb at Vulci (London, British Museum): Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 70, figs. 1-3, 6; pl. 86, figs. 1-3; W. Hausenstein, *Die Bildneri der*

The early cremation cemeteries of Latium were not wealthy; their only evidences of foreign trade were a few scraps of gold wire and some amber beads,³²—and these six statuettes, with their echoes of the eastern Mediterranean.

The cemeteries of the Alban Hills were apparently the earliest cremation cemeteries in central Italy;³³ others, not much later in date, have also produced terracotta figures, but these were decorative in purpose.

A female figure forming the vertical handle of a three-footed cup from Bisenzio (fig. 4)³⁴ has a beaky head very like that of the Latin idol no. 6 (fig. 3). The lower part of the body is a column rising from the rim of the cup; the upper part broadens. The breasts are high and pointed; the right hand rests on the belly; the left is raised to the head as though the figure were steadying a vessel balanced there; a twist of bronze wire hangs from the left ear. The hand raised to the head is an attitude that comes from the eastern Mediterranean and will reappear later in bronze figures of women from central Italy (*infra* pp. 171, 180; figs. 20, 49, 50); the hand on the hip occurs in Greek Geometric figures (one in the British Museum, from Kameiros in Rhodes, is illustrated in fig. 5)³⁵ and will also reappear in central Italy (*infra* pp. 167, 180, 181; figs. 7, 49, 50).

Tarquinia also made decorative terracottas in Archaic I. The graves of this period, younger than the earliest in Latium, contain more imported material from the Near East,³⁶ as well as pottery possibly modeled under Cypriote influence. A number of alert little horses with hogged manes and prick ears, once attached to carts whose clay wheels are also preserved, come from these early graves.³⁷ Their lively Geometric style, a distinct advance over that of the Latin idols or the lady from Bisenzio, is more than a little reminiscent of

Etrusker. Das Bild. Atlanten zur Kunst II (Munich 1922) pl. 7; Mühlestein, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) figs. 178, 221; G. K. Loukomski, *L'art étrusque* (Paris 1931) pl. 63; G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Etruskische Plastik* (Stuttgart 1956) pl. 6 b.

³² Bryan, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11), 20, 170. One idol (Hanfmann no. 5) was found inside a hut urn, with a spiral of gold wire and a few amber beads: G. A. Colini, R. Mengarelli, *NS* 1902, 151-152, figs. 31-42; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11), p. 676, pl. 135, figs. 11-18.

³³ Bryan, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 65-66, 161-162; Müller-Karpe, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 25) 14-30, 65.

³⁴ Rome, Museo Preistorico, inv. no. 51762; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) pl. 255, 2; Müller-Karpe, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 25), 52, pl. 18, fig. 4.

³⁵ Hand steadying a vessel: Paris, Louvre, from Cyprus; Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) pl. 47, fig. 438; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 57-59. Hand on hip: Brooklyn museum, no. 35.746, from S. Crete; E. H. Richardson, "The Etruscan Origins of early Roman Sculpture," *MAAR* 21 (1953) 116, n. 163, fig. 39 on p. 120 (male); London, British Museum, inv. no. 64. 10-17. 435, ht. 0.06 m. (female from Rhodes, here fig. 5). Steadying vessel with one hand, the other on the hip: Tegea Museum, from the *stips* of the temple of Athena Alea, no. 327, unpublished; nude female figure, the left hand steadying a biconical pot on the head, the right hand touching the right thigh, ht. 0.07 m; a similar figure, headless, from the same *stips*; a larger figure, both arms broken, in Athens, National Museum inv. no. 15129.

³⁶ *Supra* n. 11; Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) col. 148.

³⁷ Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) col. 145; G. Ghirardini, *NS* 1882, 148, pl. 13, 13; L. Pernier, *NS* 1907, 230, 243, fig. 49; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) pl. 276, fig. 12. Examples are in the Museo Archeologico, Florence, and the Museo Nazionale, Tarquinia.

the style of some terracotta horses on Attic Geometric pots of the middle of the eighth century B.C.³⁸

To sum up, the people of the Villanovan tombs of Archaic I, in Latium and southern Etruria, were already receiving influences from the eastern Mediterranean; this is proved not only by the presence of trade objects in the tombs, but by such evidences of cultural connections as pottery types and the motifs of statuary; in the case of the terracotta horses from Tarquinia, the connection was apparently so close as to have produced a creditable imitation of a Greek style.

ARCHAIC II: THE INFLUENCE OF GREEK GEOMETRIC IN ETRURIA.

In the second period of the Iron Age in central Italy, the Advanced Villanovan, Professor Pallottino's Archaic II, the influence of Greek trade and Greek art was dominant. A number of scholars have argued convincingly that Greek traders and craftsmen must have settled in Etruria before the beginning of the Orientalizing period, perhaps even before the foundation of any Greek colony to the south.³⁹ Imported Greek Geometric pottery and its local imitations found at Bisenzio and Tarquinia are one evidence of Greek activity. Now that it seems probable that the most characteristic fibula of Archaic II (the *sanguisuga* and *navicella* types, found in women's graves)⁴⁰ is actually a Greek shape, perhaps introduced to Etruria from the early Greek colony of Pithecusa on Ischia, the evidence for early Greek connections with central Italy has become even stronger.⁴¹

A third line of evidence for the importance of Greek influence at this period is offered by the development of the first bronze figure style in central Italy.

THE WIRY GEOMETRIC STYLE.

Small figurines of cast bronze, used as decorations for various objects,—tripods, cups, fibulae,—or as amulets, were found in some of the later tombs of Archaic II. The fact that they were cast sets them apart from the hammered bronze armor and utensils of the Villanovan culture; their repertory of subjects,—bulls, horses, men and women,—parallels, with limitations, the repertory of late Geometric bronze subjects in Greece; the style of the best examples resembles that of Greek Geometric bronzes.

³⁸ Cf. particularly *Kerameikos*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 15) V, 1, pl. 60, Grave 32, inv. 332.

³⁹ Blakeway, "Demaratos," *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 3) 129, 134; Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) 177. Åberg, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) 81. Åkerstrom, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 87, 154. One must, I believe, disregard Åkerstrom's absolute dates for the foundation of the Sicilian colonies and Randall-MacIver's and Blakeway's for the earliest Greek Geometric pottery in Italy.

⁴⁰ Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) cols. 157-158.

⁴¹ Hencken, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) 1 and n. 1. H. Payne (and others), *Perachora, the sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia* (Oxford 1940) 168, 170, pl. 73, figs. 1 and 3. *Olympia* IV, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) 51-52, nos. 347-351, pl. 21.

A number of tripods have legs decorated with helmeted horsemen (an example from Poggio alla Guardia, Vetulonia, is illustrated in fig. 6).⁴² The horse's body is tubular; the arched neck, hogged mane, prick ears and long, snouty nose look at once lively and precise; the man has a spindly little body and a big, round head on which perches a pyramidal cap or helmet. The legs of the riders are suppressed (as in some Greek Geometric terracotta figures of horsemen);⁴³ in some cases the arms are also suppressed, in others they reach forward to grasp the horse's ears. A comparison of these figures with a bronze Geometric horse in Athens⁴⁴ or with the group of a man and a centaur in New York,⁴⁵ brings out resemblances too close to be accidental. The horse in Athens is more like the Italic horses, but the heads of the man and the centaur are shaped very like those of the Italic riders, and their caps perch on the heads in the same way.

Only a few of these tripods came from graves that could be dated definitely in Archaic II; others that show no particular difference in style,—occasionally a slight degeneration,—were found in early Orientalizing tombs of Archaic III.⁴⁶ One must assume that the Wiry Geometric Style developed in Italy rather late in Archaic II under the strong Greek Geometric influence of that time, and that it continued to be popular even after the end of the strictly Geometric period in Italy.

At least one other bronze from Tarquinia has been assigned to Archaic II, probably to the last years of the period, a pendant from a *fossa* tomb (Poggio Gallinaro no. 9) whose contents look slightly later than those of the Warrior's Tomb (figs. 7 and 8).⁴⁷ This is in the form of a nude woman, modeled in a slightly different style from that of the horsemen, with a bald spherical head, given character by a big, hacked-out nose; the ears are prominent and hung with spiral earrings. The torso is long and tubular, the hips rounded; the short straddled legs are well modeled, the arms long and wire-like, the left curving out and downward so that the hand rests on the hip, the right broken off near the shoulder.

⁴² P. Ducati, "Osservazioni su di un tripode vetuloniese e su monumenti affini," *StEtr* 5 (1931) 85-103, pl. 8 fig. 1; Hencken, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) 1-4, pls. 1-2, figs. 1, 2, 4-7; another example, London, British Museum 382, from Capua. Fig. 6, Florence, Museo Archeologico 6180; I. Falchi, *Vetulonia e la sua necropoli antichissima* (Florence 1891) pl. 6 fig. 22; Ducati, *ibid.* 88 no. 2; Hencken, *ibid.* 2, pl. 2 fig. 5.

⁴³ Boeotian: Athens, National Museum, C. Zervos, *L'art en Grèce du troisième millénaire au IV^e siècle avant notre ère, Cahiers d'Art* (Paris 1946) figs. 97-99. Cypriote: from Amathus, Tomb 11; E. Gjerstad, J. Lindros, E. Sjöqvist, A. Westholm, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, finds and results of the excavations in Cyprus 1927-1931* (Stockholm 1935) II 72 no. 16, pl. 17. Paris, Louvre; H. T. Bossert, *Altsyrien. Die älteste Kulturen des Mittelmeerkreises III* (Tübingen 1951) pl. 44 no. 126.

⁴⁴ Athens, National Museum: F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst I* (Frankfort am Main 1949/50) 80, pl. 25 b; Zervos, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) fig. 52.

⁴⁵ New York, MMA 17.190.2072: E. Kunze, "Zu den Anfängen der griechischen Plastik," *AM* 55 (1930) 143-144, Beilage 38, fig. 1; Matz, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 44) 83, pl. 27 a.

⁴⁶ Hencken, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) 1-4.

⁴⁷ Florence, Museo Archeologico, ht. 0.058 m. L. Pernier, *NS* 1907, 341 fig. 70 bottom right: Gallinaro cemetery tomb 9. Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 92 n. 7; 113 no. 3. Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) col. 174 and n. 15.

The big pierced ears, like cup handles, are a feature that the Wiry Geometric bronzes of Archaic II and III have in common with the terracottas of Archaic I (cf. figs. 1 c, 3 and 4); the long torso and short legs of the Gallinaro pendant may also be compared with the proportions of the Latin Hut Urn idols, her prominent hips especially with those of no. 3 (fig. 1 b).

The proportions of this figure set a standard for a number of Wiry Geometric bronzes. One of the so-called candelabra (actually a pot-stand?) from a circle tomb at Vetulonia is crowned with a standing female figure that repeats almost precisely the proportions of the pendant (fig. 9):⁴⁸ big, round head; long narrow body; broad hips; short, thick, straddled legs. Both arms are broken off near the shoulders.

Some of the "dove goddesses" that decorate the handles of cups from Vetulonia and Bisenzio⁴⁹ follow this canon of proportion too. One, from the Circolo del Tridente, Vetulonia (fig. 10)⁵⁰ is almost a silhouette of the pendant, even to the prominent ears, though the whole *à jour* disk of which she is the center is a single flat casting. The same outline will be seen in some of the earliest group of Italic votive bronzes, from Arezzo (*infra* p. 169, figs. 12-18).

The first Italic Geometric bronzes designed to be free-standing are three minute figures from the Circolo del Tridente, Vetulonia (fig. 11 a, b, c).⁵¹ Two are warriors who stand with right arm raised and fist closed, once brandishing a weapon, while the left arm is bent forward and probably once held a shield. This is the ancient Near Eastern pose of the Striding Warrior, invented in Predynastic Egypt, borrowed by Syria and eventually by Greece in the Geometric period.⁵² Unlike the Egyptian and Syrian examples, but like the Greek bronzes, these

⁴⁸ Florence, Museo Archeologico no. 6611, from the Circolo dei Bambagini 1899, Vetulonia. Ht. of figure 0.052 m.; surface ruined. F. Messerschmidt, "Die 'Kandelaber' von Vetulonia," *StEtr* 5 (1931) 72, no. 5; pl. 6, fig. 6; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 70, no. 9, erroneously said to be a warrior.

⁴⁹ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 61-63.

⁵⁰ Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 7182. Ht. of figure 0.033 m. I. Falchi, *NS* 1908, 435 c, fig. 19; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 61, no. 1.

⁵¹ Florence, Museo Archeologico, nos. 7137-7139. 7137, warrior, ht. 0.041 m., 7138, warrior, both legs broken, ht. 0.028 m., 7139, civilian, ht. 0.039 m. I. Falchi, *NS* 1908, 422 b; fig. 1; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 873 fig. t.; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 69, nos. 1 and 2.

⁵² Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 70. Egypt: used for the Pharaoh, who brandishes a weapon (usually a mace) in the right hand and with the left grasps the hair of one or more captives: Early Dynasty, palette of Atothis, F. W. Freiherr von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur* (Munich 1914) I pl. 2; J. B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton 1954) 296. Mentuhotep, Bissing, *ibid.* I pl. 33 a. Seti I, Bissing, *ibid.* II pl. 87. Thutmose III, Pritchard, *ibid.* 312. Syria: bronze statuettes of a god brandishing a weapon in the right hand, with a shield on the left arm: Megiddo, Pritchard, *ibid.* 494, 496. Ras Shamra, Bossert, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) pl. 176, fig. 574; Syria, Bossert, *ibid.* pl. 176, fig. 573; pl. 177, figs. 579, 580; Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) pl. 40, figs. 393-395, pl. 41, figs. 399-401, 404. Greece: Athens, Acropolis: Matz, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 44) 81-82, fig. 30. Delphi: *Fouilles de Delphes* V, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) pl. 1, fig. 8 (Zervos, *op. cit.* [*supra* n. 43], fig. 68); pl. 2, figs. 5 and 6; Matz, *ibid.* 160, pl. 68 a. Olympia: *Olympia* IV, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) pl. 16, figs. 243, 244, 245; Matz, *ibid.* 160-161, pl. 69; E. Kunze, *Neue Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst aus Olympia* (Munich 1948) figs. 12-13, 14-15, 16-17.

warriors from Vetulonia are nude except for the triangular crests which seem to grow out of the top of their heads. The third of these figures is a civilian; he is completely nude; the right arm is bent out to the side, and then down; the left is broken. The figures are so tiny that the arms and legs are threadlike and there is no indication of sex. The right legs of one warrior and the civilian (fig. 11 a and c), the only legs preserved to their full length, end in a flattened wedge, to fix the statuette in some kind of base.

Another series of free-standing Geometric bronzes, larger and handsomer than these, is connected with them in type and with the Gallinaro pendant in proportions and finish. Fourteen bronzes in the Arezzo museum,⁵³ each cast solid with a tang under each foot for attachment to a base, suggest (though there is no record of their finding-place) that there must have been a sanctuary of some kind near Arezzo at a very early date, even earlier than the oldest votive *stips* from Satricum.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, there is no other evidence of a town or temple at or near Arezzo so early; Arezzo's earliest tombs and the votive *stips* found at the Fonte Veneziana are no earlier than the third quarter of the sixth century.⁵⁵

The three handsomest of this votive group are illustrated here (figs. 12-18). The first is a warrior (Arezzo 11469, ht. 0.072 m.; figs. 12 and 13), nude except for the usual triangular crest which grows out of the top of his skull; the right arm is raised over the head, the left bent forward; a rivet through each hand attached lance and shield to the figure. The protruding ears are unpierced (only women wore earrings in Italy), the eyes are indicated by two deeply bored holes, the sex is prominent. The second figure is also male (Arezzo 11466, ht. 0.066 m.; figs. 14 and 15), a civilian whose arms are bent out and downward like those of the civilian from the Tomba del Tridente (fig. 11 c). The third is a female figure (Arezzo 11473, ht. 0.057 m.; figs. 16-18), very like the Gallinaro pendant from Tarquinia (figs. 7 and 8) in the big nose, the ears pierced for earrings, the long torso and rounded hips, the short straddled legs. In profile, one can see the sophisticated modeling of the lady's legs and buttocks, and the fact that, unlike the completely bald head of the Gallinaro figure, this figure has a twist of hair gathered in a pony-tail at the crown of her head. Her arms curve forward and cross the front of her body, right held above left, in an embracing gesture characteristic of other female bronzes of this group from Arezzo and much like that of another Italic bronze in a private collection in New York.⁵⁶ This last bronze should no

⁵³ Arezzo, Museo Archeologico, nos. 11456, 11457, 11467-11469, 11472-11474, 11476; unpublished.

⁵⁴ A. della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia* (Rome 1918) 279-292; N. Bonacasa, "Bronzetti da Satricum" *StEtr* 25 (1957) 549-559, figs. 1-15. Della Seta's date for the *stips*, seventh and early sixth centuries, is much to be preferred to Miss Bonacasa's.

⁵⁵ C. Lazzeri, "Arezzo etrusca. Le origini della città e la stipe votiva alla Fonte Veneziana," *StEtr* 1 (1927) 113-120, pls. 8 and 9. Duhn, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 25) 296.

⁵⁶ G. M. A. Hanfmann, "The Origin of Etruscan Sculpture," *La Critica d'Arte* 10 (Florence 1937) 160, pl. 120, fig. 1.

doubt be assigned to Arezzo too; the holes bored for eyes and the general proportions are extremely like those of the warrior Arezzo 11469 (fig. 12).

Other votive bronzes in a similar style, though none so elegant, have been found at Volterra and Fiesole.⁵⁷ Two found at Bologna,—a male figure from the Ripostiglio di San Francesco (fig. 19 b) and a female one from the Arsenale (fig. 19 a)⁵⁸ are so like the Arretine bronzes (the Arsenale lady even has the same twisted pony-tail as Arezzo 11473) that they must have been exported from Arezzo, or whatever center made the Arretine bronzes, to the Po valley.

None of these votive bronzes can be dated with any certainty, since there is no record of the contexts in which they were found, except for the male figure (fig. 19 b) from the San Francesco deposit; this deposit was a great collection of bronze weapons and ornaments of varying dates, apparently stowed together to be melted down and re-used.⁵⁹ The Circolo del Tridente is generally considered to be one of the earliest circle tombs at Vetulonia, but it contained a large fragment of an ivory knife handle carved with a fine crouching lion and pieces of a fluted bronze bowl with very thin walls, quite unlike the style of the bronze-work of Archaic II.⁶⁰ In fact, it becomes more and more evident that all of the circle tombs at Vetulonia should be dated within the Orientalizing period, even though some of them contain little or no Orientalizing material.⁶¹ Vetulonia's development in the Villanovan period is merely slower than the development in southern Etruria.⁶²

This time lag between Vetulonia and Tarquinia or Veii, for example, is no doubt responsible for the fact that the greatest number of Wiry Geometric bronzes comes from Vetulonia. The earliest, even at Tarquinia, belong to late Archaic II tombs; the great development of the style took place in the early Orientalizing period, before the period of the great tombs.

The Wiry Geometric bronzes of Vetulonia do not all fall into a single homogeneous group. The crowning figure from a "candelabrum" from the second Circolo delle Pelliccie (figs. 20 and 21)⁶³ is a nude female, larger than any bronze

⁵⁷ Volterra, Museo Guarnacci no. 56; ht. 0.053 m.; unpublished. Fiesole, Museo Civico, nos. 480 a-d; A. Solari, *Vita pubblica e privata degli Etruschi* (Florence 1931) pl. 14, fig. 26 above, nos. 2 and 3 (480 a and b).

⁵⁸ Bologna, Museo Civico. Male figure, ht. with tangs, 0.062 m.; A. Zannoni, *La Fonderia di Bologna* (Bologna 1888) 41, pl. 44 a, no. 110; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 353, pl. 70 no. 15; A. Grenier, *Bologna villanovienne et étrusque. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 106 (Paris 1912) 431; P. Ducati, *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna* (Bologna 1923) 159-161; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 111 no. 1. Female figure: ht. 0.057 m.

⁵⁹ Grenier, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 58) 30-31; Ducati, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 58) 159-160, prefers the theory that it was a votive *stips*.

⁶⁰ Åberg, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) 93-104, 105, no. 4; Schachermeyr, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) 148; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 61, 71; I. Falchi, *NS* 1908, 433 u and z, fig. 18 on p. 435; Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) 127; Duhn, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 25) 259.

⁶¹ Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 179; Hencken, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) 2.

⁶² Åkerstrom, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 155-158, believes that Vetulonia and the other north Etruscan cities were not settled at all till the Orientalizing period. This I cannot accept.

⁶³ Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 6830; ht. 0.078 m.; Falchi, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 42) 174, pl. 15,

discussed so far, and both more realistic and more slapdash in treatment. The woman stands with straddled legs, the right arm raised, balancing a biconical jug on the head, the left hand spread over the belly. The attitude is that of the Bisenzio terracotta (fig. 4), with the arms reversed. The head is potato-shaped with long slit-like eyes that slant downward at the outer corners, a jutting nose, slashed mouth, lifted chin. The long torso is narrow and round in cross-section, but high, small breasts are indicated; the body narrows at the waist and broadens at the hips. The arms are very long and rod-like, with exaggeratedly sharp elbows; their pose repeats the outline of the biconical jug on the figure's head. The feet are missing, but the legs were not much longer than they are now. Down the back, a long braid is indicated by an incised herring-bone pattern with a slight ridge; the figure also wears heavy bracelets on the upper arms.

Another "candelabrum" is crowned by a nude female figure who stands between two seated creatures and rests her hands on their heads (fig. 22);⁶⁴ this figure has a short narrow torso and relatively long legs; the arms, of the same thickness as the legs, bend up sharply at the elbows, making a broad, flattened composition something like that of the figure from the second Circolo delle Pellicie (fig. 20), an aesthetic quite unlike that of the votive bronzes from Arezzo (figs. 12-18). The head of the standing figure, and those of the two seated creatures, has a projecting, snouty face, with a receding forehead and big flat ears set close to the skull. Unmistakably, the head is that of an animal, though the body looks human.

Beast-headed human figures are common among the early bronzes of north Etruria. In addition to those from the Circolo dei Lebeti, Vetulonia (fig. 22), there are "seated apes" from the Circolo di Bes and from the Circolo della Fibula at Marsiliana.⁶⁵ An animal-headed monster from the Circolo del Cono, Vetulonia,⁶⁶ has a crest growing out of the top of the head; the right arm is raised to brandish a weapon, the left held forward in the traditional Striding Warrior pose. Some of the human figures on a class of horse-bits from the graves of Vetulonia and Marsiliana also have big, animal-like ears and snouty faces.⁶⁷ Hanfmann was of the opinion that however much they may have looked like orangu-

no. 5; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 890, pl. 96, no. 22; Messerschmidt, *op. cit.*, (*supra* n. 48), 71, no. 1, pl. 5, fig. 1; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 57, no. 4.

⁶⁴ Florence, Museo Archeologico, from the Circolo dei Lebeti, Vetulonia; ht. of standing figure 0.048 m.: I. Falchi, L. Pernier, *NS* 1913, 434, figs. 17 and 18; Messerschmidt, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 48) 73, no. 9, pl. 6, fig. 3; Randall-MacIver *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) 133; Duhn, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 25) 264; B. Bonacelli, "La Scimmia in Etruria," *StEtr* 6 (1932) 372, pl. 15, no. 2.

⁶⁵ Circolo di Bes: Falchi, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 42) pl. 8, fig. 15; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 843, pl. 181, no. 11; Bonacelli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 64) 372, pl. 14, fig. 9, pl. 15, fig. 3. Circolo della Fibula, Marsiliana: A. Minto, *Marsiliana d'Albegna* (Florence 1921) 88, pl. 39, 2; Bonacelli, *ibid.*, 372, pl. 14, fig. 8, another example, from the Circolo di Perazzeta.

⁶⁶ Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 8469; ht. 0.077 m.: I. Falchi, *NS* 1895, 313, fig. 27; Messerschmidt, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 48) 73, no. 10; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 70, no. 10.

⁶⁷ Vetulonia, Circolo del Tritone: Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11), pl. 179, no. 8. Marsiliana, Circolo di Perazzeta: Minto, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 65) 169, pl. 32, no. 6; Bonacelli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 64) 372, pl. 15, nos. 4 and 6.

tans, these figures were intended for men,⁶⁸ but the difference in the design of the heads between these monstrous creatures and the votive figures from Arezzo or the water-carrier from the second Circolo delle Pelliccie marks them as a separate species. Monstrous creatures with human bodies and beast heads are, in any case, not unknown in later Etruscan art; there is, for example, the ass-eared, parrot-beaked demon from the Tomba del Orco at Tarquinia and the sinister wolf-headed creature who surges out of a well on a number of Hellenistic ash-urns from Perugia and Volterra.⁶⁹

A pendant from the Circolo del Tritone, Vetulonia, represents another of these monsters (fig. 23),⁷⁰ in this case an ithyphallic male figure who clutches the phallus with the left hand while the right is carried to his mouth. The head, with the usual large prick ears and a pointed snout, is set on a short, broad torso, with short, thick, straddled legs and very long wiry arms. No other Geometric bronze from central Italy has quite these proportions; they add considerably to the beastlike quality of the figure. The gesture, and the enormous size of the sexual organs connects this amulet with fertility, or at least good fortune; its presence in a tomb may have been apotropaic. Two other pendants from Italy represent male figures in a similar attitude. One, in the British Museum (fig. 24),⁷¹ clutches the phallus with the right hand and carries the left to his head. The face is snouty, the neck and torso long and thick, the arms wiry; the short, stocky legs are bent at the knees as though the figure were sitting down. The third pendant was found in the older votive *stips* at Satricum;⁷² this represents a human figure rather than a monster but the gesture is like that of the others.

The finest of the north Etruscan beast-headed figures are a pair of bronzes found loose in the earth above one of the tombs of the Costiaccia Bambagini, Vetulonia (fig. 25);⁷³ they have long slim proportions resembling those of the Pelliccie figure (fig. 20) but the style in which they are modeled is considerably more sophisticated. Two tall, slender figures, one male, the other female, are

⁶⁸ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 63.

⁶⁹ Tomba del Orco: Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 248, 1. Ash Urns: G. Körte, *I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche* III (Berlin 1916) 16-24, figs. 4 and 5 on pp. 18 and 19, pls. 8-10. Cf. the discussion of beast-headed divinities, F. Messerschmidt, "Das Grab der Volumnier bei Perugia," *RM* 57 (1942) 200-217; Messerschmidt is of the opinion that all such divinities have a connection with the Underworld.

⁷⁰ Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 6828; ht. of figure 0.055 m.: I. Falchi, *NS* 1900, 482, fig. 18 on p. 483; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 838, pl. 179, no. 10; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 92, n. 7.

⁷¹ London, British Museum, Inventory no. 1912. 11-25.51, ht. 0.063 m.; unpublished.

⁷² Della Seta, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 54) 292, no. 10517; ht. 0.049 m.; Bonacasa, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 54) 553, no. 7, fig. 7 on 554. One of the warriors decorating the wheeled brazier from Capodimonte (Tomb. 2: R. Paribeni, *NS* 1928, 442, fig. 12) also clutches his sexual organ with the right hand. In the drawing (fig. 12) it looks as though the female figure to the warrior's left is touching his sexual organ while he touches her right breast, but she has actually laid her right arm over the warrior's shoulders.

⁷³ Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 8380; ht. of man, 0.11 m., of woman, 0.099 m., each cast with a small flat base with a rivet hole in the center: Falchi, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 42) 194, pl. 17 no. 33; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 875, pl. 191 no. 13; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 92, n. 3.

joined together by a triple chain, one end of which is fastened to a short projection behind the female's head, apparently a braid hanging from the nape of the neck; the other two ends are attached to the elbows of the male figure, whose forearms are suppressed. Both bodies are broad shouldered, with long torsos, shallow from front to back; the buttocks are prominent and well modeled, the legs long and rather shapeless. The female's breasts are small but very prominent; the male figure's phallus is erect and much exaggerated. The female's arms were originally folded under her breasts; the right is now missing. Though the anatomy of the bodies leaves no doubt that they were intended to be human, the heads are monstrous; the face in profile is long and projecting like an axe head, with a slanting forehead and protruding jaw; the high, rounded ears are set close to the skull like those of the Tritone amulet (fig. 23) or the pyramid of apes from the Circolo dei Lebeti (fig. 22).

The gesture of the female figure, with arms folded under the breasts, occurs in Cycladic idols of the early Bronze Age, and may possibly be related to the near Eastern gesture of prayer, with hands clasped under the breasts.⁷⁴ It is evident, from the emphasis on their sex, that this pair of figures also had something to do with fertility; their use as tomb figures suggests the possibility that they are the prototypes of the Italic Dionysus and Persephone, Liber and Libera. Whatever their meaning was to the Vetulonians, their modeling represents the high point of the Wiry Geometric style.

ARCHAIC III: THE INFLUENCE OF THE NEAR EAST ON ETRURIA.

The period of the great Orientalizing tombs produced a revolution in the art of central Italy. Under the influence of importations from the Near East, a new figure style developed in Etruria and is found in the great tombs of the seventh century. This style was first used for terracotta (bucchero) and ivory figurines;⁷⁵ for some time, the bronzes buried in Orientalizing tombs are still purely Geometric. Not only the early group of circle tombs at Vetulonia, but the great tombs,—the Regolini-Galassi at Cerveteri, the Barberini and Bernardini at Praeneste, the Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia, the Circoli della Fibula, di Perazzeta, degli Avori at Marsiliana,—all contain one or more bronzes in a purely Geometric style.⁷⁶ This is hardly surprising as there was, apparently, only about a genera-

⁷⁴ Cycladic idols: Zervos, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) figs. 7-12. Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) 9, pl. 10, figs. 213-216. Near Eastern figures: Müller, *ibid.* 99-100; pl. 35, figs. 363, 364; W. H. Ward, "Two Idols from Syria," *AJA* 4 (1900) 289-292, pl. 2 (Müller, *ibid.* 107, no. 1).

⁷⁵ Bucchero: Pareti, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31) pls. 38, 41; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) fig. 3-7; von Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 63. Ivory: Minto, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 65) pl. 16, 1; pl. 19; Curtis, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) III, pl. 39; *idem*, V, pls. 9-12, 17.

⁷⁶ Regolini-Galassi: Pareti, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31) 321, no. 325, pl. 44; cf. also the fragments of six of the eight bronze shields, which have purely Geometric decorations, nos. 243, 244, 248-250, pls. 34-35. Barberini: figures from a tripod, Curtis, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) V, 41, no. 78, pl. 25; 48, no. 85, pl. 35, 2. Bernardini: *idem*, III, 70-71, no. 72, pl. 50, 2; von Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 89;

tion between the Warrior's Tomb of Archaic II at Tarquinia and the Regolini-Galassi at Cerveteri.⁷⁷ This is no more than the "Geometric Overlap," also a phenomenon of the early Orientalizing period in Greece.⁷⁸

THE GEOMETRIC OVERLAP.

Several groups of Geometric votive bronzes should be assigned to this stage. The greatest number of these (over 50 examples) are in the museum at Arezzo.⁷⁹ Two series stand with bent arms and dangling hands in a stereotyped reworking of the pose of the Wiry Geometric "civilians" from the Circolo del Tridente (fig. 11 c) and Arezzo 11466 (fig. 15). One series (fig. 27) has the narrow, solid body and round head on a rather long neck of the warrior, Arezzo 11469, and the civilian, Arezzo 11466 (figs. 12, 15); the arms are thicker, and the legs slightly longer. The elbows are generally sharply bent, like those of the standing figure on the pot-stand from the Circolo dei Lebeti (fig. 22). These bronzes are well cast and carefully finished. A second series (fig. 26) is evidently a degeneration of the first. The pose is the same, but the bodies are flattened and clumsy. These bronzes are cast in a two-piece mold; frequently the joint of the two pieces of the mold can be seen around the figure, which is not retouched after casting except to indicate sex, fingers and features. Many of the bronzes from the older votive *stips* at Satricum stand in this same stereotyped pose, and are designed with the same clumsy, flattened bodies.⁸⁰ A third series, at Arezzo, marks a return to elegance (fig. 28). Here the figures, both male and female, stand with the arms hanging from the shoulders, the hands touching the thighs. The heads are pear-shaped, broadest at the top, with knob ears; the necks are slender, the torsos long and narrow, rounded in cross-section, with a narrowed waist and rounded hips; the short legs are straddled; the long arms are slender, almost wiry. In spite of their quiet pose, these figures are evidently the stylistic descendants of the Wiry Geometric votive figures (figs. 12-19), who were the descendants, or close relatives, of the pendant from Tarquinia of Archaic II (figs. 7 and 8). The

cf. also the bulls' heads that decorate the handles of the bowl, no. 73, Curtis, *ibid.* III, 72 pl. 51. Tomba del Duce: bronze shield with purely Geometric decoration, Montelius. *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) pl. 185 no. 6; bull's head, *idem* pl. 188 no. 5. Circolo della Fibula: bronze tripod ornamented with Geometric horses, bulls' heads and squatting apes, Minto, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 65) 88, pl. 39 no. 2. Circolo di Perazzeta: two horse bits decorated with schematic female figures, *idem* 169, 267, pl. 32 no. 6. Circolo degli Avori: fibula with a bow in the shape of a Geometric horse, *idem* 128, pl. 22 no. 2.

⁷⁷ Karo, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 17) 112-114, 121-122; Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) col. 156, 180-181; Dohan, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 17) 105.

⁷⁸ R. Carpenter, "The Greek Alphabet Again," *AJA* 42 (1938) 61-62; Young, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 15) 194-195, n. 1 on p. 195.

⁷⁹ Arezzo, Museo Archeologico, unpublished. Thirteen more, in the Museo Archeologico, Florence (nos. 183, 188, 189, 192-194, 200, 202, 208, 213, 216, 365, 368), probably come from Arezzo too.

⁸⁰ Bonacasa, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 54) 551-553, nos. 3-6, 8, figs. 3-6, 8.

pose, however, belongs to the new age in Etruria, though it was ancient in the Near East and had appeared in Greece in the Geometric period.⁸²

ORIENTALIZED GEOMETRIC.

No doubt the Orientalizing period was responsible for the new solemn attitudes of the votive bronzes described above p. 174 (figs. 26-28), though it had little or no effect on their Geometric style. Other bronzes, while still essentially Geometric in attitude as well as style, show novelties of detail and a new interest in size and weight. A figure in Arezzo (no. 11478; ht. 0.078 m.; figs. 29-31) has much in common with the lady from the second Circolo delle Pelliccie (figs. 20, 21), though it is more confidently designed, larger, and above all, heavier. The primitive potato-shaped head with a deep slit for the mouth, the narrow torso and small, well-formed breasts, the straddled legs are much the same. So are the heavy bracelets worn on the upper arms. The ears are pierced for earrings, and the arms curve forward in an embracing gesture, the hands held palm upward, right over left, as in the case of the Wiry Geometric votive figure, Arezzo 11473 (fig. 16). The hair is arranged in a short pigtail which hangs stiffly down the back of the neck from the crown of the head, something like the short pigtail of the Bambagini female (fig. 25). The heavy belt around the waist is a new detail, not found in earlier Geometric bronzes, though it is worn by several otherwise essentially Geometric figures of the period of the great tombs.⁸² Willow leaf belts are worn by the otherwise nude female figures that peer into the Geometric cauldrons of the Barberini and Bernardini tombs, and both male and female figures on the bronze incense burner from Capodimonte wear thick belts, resembling that of Arezzo 11478.⁸³ Though this tomb (Capodimonte, Tomb 2) is often considered early and has no Orientalizing decorative motifs, the presence of bucchero should date it well into the Orientalizing period.⁸⁴

In the votive figure, Arezzo 11478 (figs. 29-31), the new Eastern influence could be seen in the greater solidity of the body, the new plasticity of hair and ornaments, the closed rhythm of the gesture. Another votive bronze in Arezzo (no. 11477; ht. 0.06 m.; figs. 32-34) lacks the distinction of the belted lady but has achieved the rounded contours and closed outline of the Orient with greater

⁸² H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, (Pelican History of Art. 7, 1954) pl. 166 a; R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum* (London 1957) pl. 73-76, 89, 91 (decorative); 122 V 16; 124 X 3. Kunze, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 45) 147-150, Beilage 40-41, pls. 5-8; Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) pl. 32, fig. 345; E. Buschor, *Frühgriechische Jünglinge* (Munich 1950) 6, fig. 1.

⁸² This is an Oriental detail, cf. Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 60.

⁸³ Curtius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) III, 70-71, no. 72, pls. 48, fig. 3, 49. *Idem* V, 41, no. 78, pl. 25; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31) pl. 13, fig. 2, pl. 14, figs. 3-5; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 59, nos. 1-6, "die Topfgucker." R. Paribeni, *NS* 1928, 440-444, fig. 10 on p. 441, figs. 12-13 on p. 442, fig. 20 on p. 445. Cf. also the late Geometric bronze female from Olympia, *Olympia*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) IV, 42 no. 264, pl. 15.

⁸⁴ R. Paribeni, *NS* 1928, 445. Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) cols. 213, 226-228.

success. Yet the big, round head with its hacked-out nose, punched eyes, slit mouth, the long, tubular torso, rounded hips and short straddled legs are all taken directly from the earlier Geometric canon, best illustrated by the Gallinaro pendant (figs. 7 and 8) and Arezzo 11473 (figs. 16-18). But Arezzo 11477 must also be compared with the famous ivory goddess from the Circolo della Fibula at Marsiliana (figs. 35-37)⁸⁵ a superb example of the new Orientalizing figure style. Here are the heavy rounded forms, the closed outline, the serene immobility of the East. The gesture, a nude woman holding a cup to her breast, is Oriental too;⁸⁶ the very materials of which the statue is made, ivory and gold leaf, betray the influence of the eastern Mediterranean.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the most recent studies of this ivory consider that it was made in Etruria,⁸⁸ and to me, it seems to be the rather beautiful and quite unexpected outcome of the Wiry Geometric figure style in Etruria.

Another eastern type, the Striding Warrior, which had become acclimatized in Etruria in the period of the Wiry Geometric figures (figs. 11 a and b. 12-13), also appears in the heavy, rounded, orientalized Geometric style. A warrior that crowns a candelabrum from the Circolo del Tritone, (figs. 38-40),⁸⁹ one of the later circle graves at Vetulonia, has, like the votive figure Arezzo 11477 (figs. 32-34) and the Marsiliana ivory (figs. 35-37), the old Geometric proportions: big head, long tubular torso, short, thick, straddled legs; and at the same time, the new, heavy rounded forms. This vicious and aggressive little figure is ithyphallic like the Geometric male figure from the Bambagini circle (fig. 25); his elaborate helmet and the shield slung at his back make him the dressiest of Geometric warriors; he brandished a weapon in either hand, a mace in the left and apparently a spear in the right. The figure is cast with an oblong base that slips over the top of the candelabrum; helmet, shield and base are decorated with engraved concentric circles,—the first time in Etruria that a costume has been embellished with incised designs.

A votive bronze warrior in Arezzo (no. 11462; ht. 0.065 m.; figs. 41-42) must be a contemporary of this figure. Here again is the old Geometric formula in

⁸⁵ Florence, Museo Archeologico: Minto, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 65) 86-87, 216-218, pl. 16, no. 2; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 31, no. 2; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 30, fig. 3; Huls, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) 40, no. 13, pl. 9.

⁸⁶ Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) 94, pl. 45, fig. 423; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 31 and n. 102; 56.

⁸⁷ The figure was intended to be nude; the gold leaf covering the hair and shoulders was wrapped loosely around the statue when it was found, according to the excavation report, as Professor Caputo informs me.

⁸⁸ L. Banti, in a letter to the author; Huls, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) 146-147, apparently also believes that this figure was carved in Etruria. Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 31, ascribed it to Syria, but Mr. Ingholt and Miss Ann Perkins of Yale University assure me that there is nothing Syrian in its style.

⁸⁹ Florence, Museo Archeologico no. 6678; ht. 0.06 m.; I. Falchi, *NS* 1900, 481, figs. 15-17; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) pl. 179, figs. 1 a, b and c; Messerschmidt, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 48) 72, no. 3, pl. 6, fig. 1; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 70, no. 8; the left foot is not advanced, as Hanfmann states; as in all other Italic Geometric bronzes, the feet are straddled but parallel.

the new Orientalizing form. A triangular crest grows out of the big round head, as it did from the heads of the Tridente warriors (fig. 11 a and b); the oblong, hacked-out nose and protruding ears resemble those of the Gallinaro pendant (fig. 7). The right hand is a flattened disk through which a rod is driven to serve as a spear (compare Arezzo 11469, figs. 12 and 13); the left, held forward, ends in a small knob decorated with punched dots. The upper part of the torso is modeled with almost female breasts, but the large, conical phallus is unmistakably male.

A pendant in the form of a warrior, from a late *pozzo* grave at Vetulonia (figs. 43, 44),⁹⁰ also belongs to this stage of development. The short stocky figure is big-headed and long-bodied; a little crest rises from the head, curling back at the tip like the crests of some late Geometric figures in Greece.⁹¹ The left arm is bent forward and ends in a round boss, larger than that of the Arretine warrior (fig. 42); the right hand is pressed against the belly (a gesture more proper to female figures); the phallus is large and treated much like that of the Arezzo warrior.

The "standing ape" from the Circolo del Cono (*supra* p. 171), the monster as warrior, also belongs to this series of orientalized Geometric bronzes, as do the figures on the incense burner from Capodimonte (*supra* p. 175). Two of the Capodimonte figures, the duellers⁹² explain the use of the little knobs at the end of the left hand of the warrior Arezzo 11462 and the pendant from Vetulonia (figs. 42 and 43); they are small bucklers used in hand-to-hand combat.

These orientalized Geometric figures mark the end of an era. Among them are the last nude female figures found in Etruria till Hellenistic times (except for the late archaic cult statue from Orvieto),⁹³ the last Spear Brandishing Warriors till the third quarter of the sixth century, when Greek influence brought back the type in a very different style; the last nude warriors in any attitude till the very end of the archaic period, when, again, Greek influence reinstated them. The last horsemen from Etruria, until the classic period and again under Greek influence, also belong to the orientalized Geometric period; three riders from a terracotta bowl found in a tomb with Italo-Corinthian pottery at Pitigliano⁹⁴ rest the left hand on the horse's head, near the left ear, while the right is raised to the rider's head in a gesture of mourning. The long rounded torsos

⁹⁰ Florence, Museo Archeologico no. 7944, from Pozzo no. 79, Poggio alla Guardia; ht. 0.062 m.; I. Falchi, *NS* 1898, 109, fig. 16; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 831, pl. 178, no. 1; Bryan, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 67, 74, 79; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 92, n. 8.

⁹¹ *Olympia*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) IV, 38-40, nos. 240, 241, 251, pl. 16; 249, pl. 15.

⁹² R. Paribeni, *NS* 1928, 444, fig. 20 on p. 445.

⁹³ Orvieto, Museo Civico; G. Gamurrini, *NS* 1885, 37-38, pl. 3, figs. 1-5; Mühlestein, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) pl. 229.

⁹⁴ Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 89852; E. Scamuzzi, "Di alcuni recenti trovamenti archeologici interessanti la topografia dell'Etruria," *StEtr* 14 (1940) 353-354, pl. 26, figs. 1 and 2. Two horsemen in the same attitude and style decorate the lid of a storage jar from Poggio Buco, but whether from a tomb of the period before the use of true bucchero and Italo-Corinthian pottery, or con-

and short legs of these figures are Italic; the exaggeratedly long necks of the horses and the fact that the riders' legs are curled up indicates a Greek (or Cypriote) source for the type.⁹⁵

The emphasis on the sexual organs characteristic of the male figures of this orientalized Geometric group was inherited from the Wiry Geometric figures (cf. figs. 13, 14, 23, 25). It disappears from Etruscan sculpture with these orientalized Geometric bronzes, and there are no more ithyphallic figures in central Italy till Roman times.

THE GEOMETRIC STYLE OUTSIDE ETRURIA.

Unlike the true Orientalizing Style (*infra* pp. 182-191) which is not found beyond the borders of Etruria and Latium, the Wiry Geometric figure style created at Tarquinia in Archaic II and developed at Vetulonia in the early part of Archaic III, as well as the Geometric Overlap and the orientalized Geometric, best known at Vetulonia and Arezzo, were not confined to Tuscany. Several figures from the older votive stips at Satricum have already been mentioned (*supra* pp. 172, 174); another, an amulet, is a nude female figure who stands with straddled legs; the right hand steadies a doughnut-shaped object on the head, the left arm is stretched out to the side, broken below the shoulder. The round head, long torso and short legs are all derived from the Wiry Geometric style of Tarquinia and Vetulonia, but the torso of this bronze is considerably thicker than in the examples from Etruria.⁹⁶

A number of amulets and decorative figures were found at Narce in the Faliscan territory, always, apparently, connected with material of the Orientalizing period.⁹⁷ One pendant, a nude female figure, was found with an electrum comb fibula of a type characteristic of the Regolini-Galassi period.⁹⁸ Another female figure carries a biconical jug on her head, originally steadied by the left hand, as in the case of the terracotta from Bisenzio and the Pelliccie bronze, (figs. 4, 20).⁹⁹ All these Faliscan figures are very close in style to the Wiry Geometric bronzes from Tarquinia and Vetulonia and may well have been imported from Tuscany.¹⁰⁰

temporary with these, the publication does not make clear; G. Pellegrini, *NS* 1898, 442-443, fig. 8; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 74, no. 11.

⁹⁵ A horse and rider from Cyprus in the Florence Museum, inv. no. 70692, is the best parallel for these horsemen. Others, *supra* n. 43.

⁹⁶ Rome, Villa Giulia, no. 10511, ht. 0.061 m; Della Seta, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 54) 292; Bonacasa, *op. cit.*, (*supra* n. 54) 551, no. 2, 554, fig. 2.

⁹⁷ *MonAnt* 4 (1894) col. 473, no. 14 (Tomb 54); col. 412, no. 15 (Tomb 24); col. 500, no. 8, col. 184, fig. 71 (Tomb. 19). Dohan, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 17) 57, nos. 35 and 36, pl. 32; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 55, no. 10, figs. 12 a and b; III, no. 2, figs. 15 a and b.

⁹⁸ *MonAnt* 4 (1894) col. 473, nos. 6 and 14.

⁹⁹ *MonAnt* 4 (1894) col. 184, fig. 71; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 313, no. 3, Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 57 no. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) III.

Another bronze from a Faliscan tomb of the Regolini-Galassi period ¹⁰¹ shows two figures enclosed in a heavy and elaborate frame something like that of the horse trappings from Grave 10 at Le Bucacce, Bisenzio, or the buckle from Sovana (*infra* p. 189, fig. 79). ¹⁰² A nude male figure with outstretched arms stands in one compartment; his head is round but the nose is snouty like that of the pendant in the British Museum (fig. 24). In the other stands a nude woman with a baby spread across her body, below the breasts; she too has a monkey-like face. The figures are Geometric, with long, tubular torsos, slightly indented at the waist; arms and legs are long and tubular. The style is not precisely like that of any figure from Tuscany, and may better be compared with that of a Geometric bronze from Campania (*infra* p. 180, fig. 49).

A bronze unquestionably imported from Etruria was found at Spadarolo near Rimini, almost a replica of a handle from Tomb 2 at Capodimonte, Bisenzio. ¹⁰³ Some Geometric bronzes found at Novilara may also have been imported from Etruria, but their style is less definite than that of the Geometric bronzes of Tarquinia and Vetulonia; they are more probably imitations of the Tuscan figures. ¹⁰⁴ One pendant representing a nude female balancing a vessel on her head, the right hand placed below the breast, the left on the belly, ¹⁰⁵ is designed in a wiry Geometric style. Another, a female in the same pose, wears her hair in a long braid and has a belt around her waist; her proportions are stocky and rounded, in the orientalized Geometric style. ¹⁰⁶

Other pendants in the form of nude human figures have been found in Picenum and in the neighborhood of Rimini. These are undoubtedly of local make but still reflect the geometric fashions of the Tuscan Italici. ¹⁰⁷

North of the Apennines, near Bologna, the importation of various Wiry

¹⁰¹ Rome, Villa Giulia Museum, no. 399, from Tomb 2, Valsiarosa; length of object 0.26 m., ht. of figures 0.077 m. *NS* 1887, 310 h, pl. 6, no. 6, found with a silver comb fibula and a gold fibula with granulated decorations, 310 p and q, pl. 6, no. 7; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) pl. 309, fig. 11, della Seta, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 54) 51-52.

¹⁰² *MonAnt* 21 (1912) col. 454, no. 15, fig. 48 on col. 455. *NS* 1902, 505, fig. 6.

¹⁰³ *NS* 1894, 308, fig. 17; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 446, fig. n; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 59, no. 7; 61, no. 6; cf. *NS* 1928, 438-439, fig. 7.

¹⁰⁴ E. Brizio, "La necropoli di Novilara," *MonAnt* 4 (1895) cols. 276-278, figs. 70 and 71; col. 312, no. 3, pl. 8, fig. 28; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) pl. 148, figs. 25, 26, 32.

¹⁰⁵ Brizio, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 104) col. 278, fig. 71; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) pl. 148, fig. 32; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 113; M. Hoernes, O. Menghen, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa von den Anfängen bis um 500 vor Christi* (3rd ed. Vienna 1925) 451, fig. 6.

¹⁰⁶ Brizio, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 104) col. 278, fig. 70; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) pl. 148, fig. 25; Hoernes, Menghen, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 105) 451, fig. 7; D. Randall-MacIver, *The Iron Age in Italy* (Oxford 1927) pl. 25, fig. 16.

¹⁰⁷ Fibula from Numana: I. dall'Osso, *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Ancona* (Ancona 1915) fig. on p. 139; P. Marconi, L. Serra, *Il Museo Nazionale delle Marche in Ancona* (Rome 1934) 23-24, pl. 65, fig. 1; Marconi, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 18) cols. 386-387, fig. 38. Necklace from Ascoli: dall'Osso, *ibid.* fig. on p. 303; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) pl. 160, no. 12. V. Dumitrescu, *L'età del ferro nel Piceno* (Bucharest 1929) 151-152. Figure from Verucchio, *NS* 1894, 299, fig. 8; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 446, fig. o. Other pendants from the Agro Riminese are in the museum at Rimini.

Geometric bronzes¹⁰⁸ produced a series of competent imitations and adaptations, particularly fibulae in the shape of Geometric horses and riders (fig. 45).¹⁰⁹ Such a fibula, enormously elaborated, was found at Este.¹¹⁰ Here, three legless horses are ridden by two legless warriors wearing triangular helmets; an ape crouches on the crupper of the central horse, and four shields (or wheels?) are fastened to the outer shoulders and hindquarters of the outer horses (fig. 46).

The size, as well as the elaboration of this fibula shows it to be later than the Tuscan Geometric bronzes of Archaic II and III. Other "Geometric" bronzes from the Po valley, generally free-standing figures, are also large and elaborate, and must represent the continuation well into the sixth century of the Tuscan Geometric style north of the Apennines.

A nude warrior from Este (fig. 47) wears a Villanovan helmet and carries a big oval shield on the left arm, while he grasps a long sword with the right hand.¹¹¹ The big round head has a wide, slashed mouth; the body is long and tubular and arms and legs are long and wiry. Another "Villanovan" warrior, the famous bronze from Reggio Emilia (fig. 48),¹¹² is even larger. The round head with deeply bored holes for eyes is a Geometric characteristic, the pose is that of the Geometric "civilians" (figs. 11 c and 15) or the series in Arezzo of the Geometric Overlap (figs. 26 and 27); the body is widened and flattened as in the series illustrated on fig. 26; but the hands are leaf-shaped with an out-turned thumb, a detail characteristic of many sixth-century Etruscan figures.¹¹³

Campania also produced Geometric bronzes, all, apparently, of the Orientalizing period.¹¹⁴ One from a tomb near Caserta (fig. 49)¹¹⁵ represents a nude seated female with her left hand on her hip, the right steadying a biconical jar on her head. The head is small with a protruding slit mouth, the torso small, the arms and legs long and tubular; the style does not resemble that of any Tuscan Geometric figures, but may have influenced the style of the Faliscan group (*supra* p. 179).

In the British Museum there is a series of bronzes from Campania, once incorrectly restored as parts of an elaborate hanging disk;¹¹⁶ eight of these repre-

¹⁰⁸ *Supra* p. 170 and n. 58. Zamoni, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 58) pl. 44, no. 62; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) pl. 70, no. 16; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13), 61, no. 2.

¹⁰⁹ Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) pl. 79, no. 5 (here fig. 45); pl. 83, no. 13; pl. 94, no. 19.

¹¹⁰ *NS* 1882, 22, pl. 4, fig. 15; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) pl. 51, no. 4; A. Callegari, *Il museo nazionale atestino in Este* (Rome 1937), fig. on p. 51; F. von Duhn, F. Messerschmidt, *Italische Gräberkunde*, II (Heidelberg 1939), pl. 8 h.

¹¹¹ Callegari, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 110) 28, fig. on p. 58; Duhn, Messerschmidt, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 110) pl. 9, c.

¹¹² F. von Duhn, *Annali dell' Instituto* 55 (Rome 1883) 189; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11), pl. 98, no. 10; Ducati, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 58) fig. on p. 86; Goldscheider, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) fig. 73.

¹¹³ F. Messerschmidt, "Inedita Etruriae," *StEtr* 6 (1932) pl. 27, figs. I 24 a, b, and c.

¹¹⁴ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 115-116.

¹¹⁵ Rome, Museo Preistorico, no. 79692, ht. 0.06 m.; from a tomb at Atina, Contrada S. Mariano, Caserta.

¹¹⁶ H. B. WALTERS, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London 1899) nos. 345, 346; Hoernes, Menghen, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 105) 499, fig. 3.

sent nude female figures who stand with the left hand on the hip, the right touching the head (fig. 50). The faces are snouty, chain earrings dangle from the protruding ears, the bodies are short and flattened, the legs and arms long and wiry. Similar figures were found at Suessula in Campania.¹¹⁷ These have only a general resemblance to the Tuscan bronzes; in proportions they are most like the figures from Capodimonte (*supra* p. 175).

A group of bronzes from Lucera (fig. 51)¹¹⁸ have a long tubular torso and very long wiry arms, reminiscent of the Wiry Geometric bronzes of Tuscany; the heads are more evolved, potato-shaped, with knob ears, jutting noses, slashed mouths. In two of the male figures the sex is very prominent, the third wears a kilt, an Oriental detail (*infra* pp. 187, 189, 191); the legs of the male figures are short and straddled, those of the swinging female are as long and wiry as her arms, she sits cross-legged in a rope swing, one hand is raised to her mouth, the other curves in front of her belly.

Whether the Campanian Geometric style (or styles) is derived from the Tuscan can be debated; it is certainly later and less distinguished. But the other regions,—Latium, the Faliscan territory, Picenum, the Agro Riminese, the Po Valley, Este,—were unmistakably influenced by the Geometric styles of Tuscany. For all these regions, Tuscany must have been a center of trade and culture in the Villanovan and early Orientalizing periods, but with the generation of the great tombs, this close connection with the neighboring Italic peoples is broken, and the great Orientalizing style of Etruria is only faintly echoed outside the territory of the Etruscan princes.

To sum up: the Wiry Geometric figure style and its descendant, the orientalizing Geometric, were used for a repertory of figures all of which were evidently influenced to some degree by statue types from the eastern Mediterranean. Bronze horse and rider are found in Luristan;¹¹⁹ the Spear Brandishing Warrior is Syrian and ultimately Egyptian;¹²⁰ the Nude Goddess is found in Assyria, Persia, Syria, Asia Minor and Cyprus.¹²¹ Certain details are also Near Eastern; in particular the long braid that hangs down the back of some of the female figures (figs. 21, 31, 33, 36) is Syrian in origin (and does not, so far as I know, appear in Greece).¹²² Nevertheless, I believe that a good argument can be made for the thesis that all these Near Eastern types reached Etruria by way of Greece.

¹¹⁷ F. von Duhn, "La necropoli di Suessula" *RM* 2 (1887) 250, fig. 19, no. 5; Hoernes, Menghen, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 105) 499, fig. 7. I am indebted to Mrs. Denis Haynes for this comparison.

¹¹⁸ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: E. Petersen, "Dreifuss von Lucera," *RM* 12 (1899) 3-29, figs. 1-5; Karo, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 17) 132 n. 1, 133 n. 3; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 115; E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* (Berlin 1843) I pl. 18, figs. 5-10.

¹¹⁹ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 74-75; *idem*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 56), pl. 123, fig. 14; C. Hopkins, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8) pl. 13, fig. 2, pl. 14, fig. 1.

¹²⁰ *Supra* p. 168, n. 52.

¹²¹ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) pls. 44-46; Bossert, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) pl. 193, figs. 628-632.

¹²² Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 31 and n. 99; cf. G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (Chicago 1939) pl. 39, no. 165; Barnett, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) pl. 75, S 211; pl. 122, V 16.

TUSCAN GEOMETRIC AND THE INFLUENCE OF GREECE.

Terracotta horses and riders are common in Geometric Greece,¹²³ and the style of the Italic tripod horsemen is much more like Greek Late Geometric bronzes (*supra* p. 167) than it is like anything Near Eastern. Though the Spear Brandishing Warrior is a Syrian type, the *nude* helmeted warrior is Greek, and at least one Geometric warrior from Olympia has the round head, bored eyes and prominent ears of the Wiry Geometric figures from Tuscany.¹²⁴ The nude female carrying a vessel on her head, and the nude female with hand on hip, are part of the Greek Geometric repertory (*supra* p. 165, fig. 5); the nude Oriental Goddess is at home in Greece too, with arms hanging at her sides like the late Geometric group from Arezzo (fig. 28),¹²⁵ and with arms making the encircling gesture.¹²⁶ Even the orientalized Geometric phase appears in Greece: two plump nude bronze females from Olympia can be compared to Arezzo 11477 (fig. 32) in proportions, though their attitudes are more lively; both wear a flat cap or diadem, and one wears a broad belt, like Arezzo 11478 (figs. 29-31).¹²⁷

ORIENTALIZING FIGURES.

The third group of statuettes that belongs exclusively to Archaic III, the Orientalizing figures, presents an entirely new repertory of figure types, which before the end of the seventh century had completely superseded the old Geometric repertory. These types seem to be more closely connected with the Near East than with Greece, and their popularity in Italy is confined to Etruria and Latium.

It is in the great tombs of the mid seventh century that statuettes reflecting this new tradition (new, that is, to central Italy) first appear. Nudity is

¹²³ For example, Boeotia: F. R. Grace, *Archaic Sculpture from Boeotia* (Cambridge Mass. 1939) figs. 47, 49, 51; Zervos, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) figs. 97-99. Perachora: Payne, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 41) 128, no. 166, pl. 100. Others: Zervos, *ibid.*, fig. 86.

¹²⁴ *Olympia*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) IV, pl. 16, figs. 243 a, b (Inv. 2914).

¹²⁵ Ivory, from Athens: Kunze, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 45) 147-150, Beilage 40-41, pls. 5-6; bronze, from the Acropolis, Athens: A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes* (Paris 1896) no. 771, fig. 279 on p. 293; terracotta, from Crete: Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) pl. 32, fig. 347; from Rhodes: R. J. H. Jenkins, *Dedolica* (Cambridge 1936) pl. 3, fig. 3; from Sparta: R. M. Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*. (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, supplementary paper 5, London 1929) 152, Type 8 c, pl. 36, figs. 3-4.

¹²⁶ *Olympia*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) IV, 41, no. 261, pl. 15. *Delphi*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) V, 28, no. 5 (Inv. 822) pl. 1, fig. 5 (perhaps not nude); *ibid.* 28, no. 2 (Inv. 3144) pl. 1, fig. 1, a clothed female figure whose arms make the gesture of Arezzo 11473 and Arezzo 11478 (figs. 16 and 30).

¹²⁷ *Olympia*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) nos. 264, 265, pl. 15. A headless nude bronze figure from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, unpublished, stands in the attitude of Arezzo 11477 (fig. 32) and has similar proportions.

no longer allowed; ¹²⁸ female figures are completely dressed, men wear at least a loincloth or short trousers. The attitudes are formal and immobile, with none of the exuberance of the Wiry Geometric style. Whether the figures stand alone or form groups, they have heavy rounded forms and a closed outline. Protomes of cast bronze attached to cauldrons (heads of lions and griffins, or of men, figs. 52-55), ivory figurines, and terracottas (particularly bucchero) show the new style most clearly. ¹²⁹ Some of the bronze protomes, and probably some of the ivories, were imported from the east; the terracottas were made locally.

The rise of terracotta sculpture in central Italy really dates from this period. A series of bucchero ladies from Cerveteri ¹³⁰ illustrates the new style and at the same time the new costume and the new gestures of the period. The figures are caryatids, supports for footed bowls of a shape popular in the Regolini-Galassi period. ¹³¹ Four come from the Regolini-Galassi tomb itself; the others are contemporary. ¹³² Some stand with arms down, pressed to the sides, others with arms bent at the elbows, each hand grasping a curling lock of hair that falls over the shoulder from behind the ear. Their short-sleeved dress reaches to the ankles and is caught at the waist by a broad belt. Some figures also wear a narrow rectangular cloak incised with a checkerboard pattern, which hangs from the shoulders to the hem of the skirt; the long Syrian braid is worn down the back outside the cloak. The elaborate arrangement of the hair is like that of a bronze figure from Aleppo, whose proportions and closed outline can be compared with those of the Cerveteri bucceros; the Syrian figure's dress is more elaborate, and her gesture slightly different (figs. 56-58). ¹³³ The gestures of the bucchero figures are also Eastern, ¹³⁴

¹²⁸ The fragment of a nude ivory female figure from the Bernardini Tomb (Curtis, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) III, 63, pl. 39, figs. 11-13; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 31, no. 1; Huls, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) 38, no. 10, pl. 6 no. 2) seems to me to be the only nude figure of this period carved in a truly Orientalizing style; it may well be an importation.

¹²⁹ Bronzes: Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 13-14; Barberini tomb, Curtis, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) V, 45, no. 81, pl. 29-31; Bernardini tomb, *idem*, III, 72-75, no. 75, pls. 52-54; Circolo dei Lebeti, Vetulonia, *NS* 1913, 431, fig. 8. Ivories: Marsiliana, Circolo degli Avori, Minto, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 65) 228-232, pl. 19, nos. 2, 3, 6, 7; Barberini Tomb, Curtis, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) V, 33, no. 54, pl. 15, figs. 1-3; 31-32, nos. 44-49, pl. 10, figs. 11-13; 27-29, nos. 31-35, pl. 12, figs. 1-14; 30, no. 40, pl. 12, fig. 15; Bernardini Tomb, *idem* III, 63, nos. 14-18, pl. 39, figs. 1-7, 11-13. Bucchero: Pareti, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31) pl. 28 (233), pl. 41 (317-320); Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 63; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 43, figs. 2-5.

¹³⁰ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 17-18, figs. 3-7. *Idem*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 56) pl. 120, figs. 2, 3.

¹³¹ Pareti, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31) pl. 67; Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 137; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 47, figs. 1, 3, 4, 6.

¹³² Pareti, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31) 310, nos. 317-320, pl. 41; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 17, n. 16, figs. 3-5; 67, nos. 1-3, figs. 6-7.

¹³³ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1889. 794, ht. 0.083 m. The curling locks on the breasts of the bucchero figures resemble the Hathor Locks of eastern figures: F. Poulsen, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) 44-46; ivory sphinx, Frankfort, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) pl. 167 a; ivory heads from Nimrud, *ibid.* pl. 167 f; ivory heads from Megiddo, Loud, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 122) pl. 44; sphinx from Tell Halaf, Boscq, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) figs. 448, 451; sphinx from Alaca Höyük, M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art* (London 1955) pl. 27.

¹³⁴ Arms pressed to sides: Ivory handle from Nimrud, Frankfort, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) pl. 166 a; others, Barnett, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) pls. 74-76; alabastron from Nimrud, *ibid.* pl. 57, S 226; Phoe-

as is the plaid material of their short cloaks.¹³⁵ Most Eastern of all is the subtle modeling of the faces with their high-bridged, curved nose, low, sloping forehead, long, almond-shaped eyes, full cheeks and sober mouths. The bronze sirens of the Bernardini tomb and the tomb of the Cauldrons at Vetulonia are evidently the source of this monumental style (figs. 52-55).

Three well known seated terracotta figures from a tomb at Cerveteri have also been compared with these bronze sirens,¹³⁶ but their style seems to me to be somewhat different, if equally Oriental. The heads have the same low, rounded skull and convex profile, a single curving line sweeping from the crown of the head to the end of the strong nose, and the shape of the face, broadest at the temples and narrowing to a rather delicate, rounded chin, is very similar, but the eyes of the terracotta figures, though almond-shaped like those of the bronzes, are not over-large nor emphasized with such heavy, thick lids, and the eyebrows sweep upward in an unbroken curve from the root of the nose; the mouths are larger, fuller, and more naturally modeled, with a rather narrow, slightly cleft upper lip and a full, soft lower lip. These Caeretan terracottas are more like the bucchero figures than like the bronze sirens.

In these terracottas, too, the closed outline of the body and the immobility of the pose is Eastern. Though the wide-set, stubby feet and open right hand might seem to be legacies from the Italic tradition,¹³⁷ even these can be compared with the feet and hands of the gigantic seated figure from Tell Halaf, herself a funerary statue; the right hand of the Halafian figure holds a cup for offerings.¹³⁸ Objections have been made to Hanfmann's dating of these terracottas as early as the second half of the seventh century,¹³⁹ but antiquarian details make it impossible to date them more than a very short time after the Regolini-Galassi period. The plaid material of the dress and cloak is like that of the bucchero caryatids and appears only once or twice after the end of the seventh century; the short cloak is out of fashion by the last quarter of the century, and the comb

nician faience figure from Sparta, Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) pl. 45, fig. 427. Hands grasping locks: Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 23 and n. 46; Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) pl. 43, fig. 416, from Cappadocia.

¹³⁵ Plaid: ivory reliefs from Megiddo, Loud, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 122) pl. 10-11 no. 44, figs. d, e, f, h. Ivory pyxides from Nimrud, Barnett, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) pls. 16-17, pl. 23, S 28 a; Frankfort, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) pl. 167 b; Poulsen, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) 46 fig. 31. Ivory box from Phoenicia, Poulsen, *ibid.*, 46 fig. 32; Bossert, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) fig. 676. Reliefs from the palace of Sennacherib, London, British Museum 124786. cf. Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 100.

¹³⁶ Two female figures: London, H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London 1903) D 219-220. Male figure: H. Stuart Jones (ed.) *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculpture preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculpture of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (Oxford 1926) 195, no. 14, pl. 76. Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 15-17; *idem*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 56) 162, pl. 120, 4; *idem*, *Etruskische Plastik, op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31) pl. 9 A, 10; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31) 319-328, figs. 1-5; M. Pallottino, M. Hürliman, *Art of the Etruscans* (London/Zurich 1955) pl. 23; Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pls. 32, 33.

¹³⁷ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 17.

¹³⁸ Frankfort, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81), 176, pl. 158 C; Vieyra, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 133) 81, figs. 88-89.

¹³⁹ P. J. Riis, *Tyrrhenika: An Archaeological Study of the Etruscan Sculpture of the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Copenhagen 1941) 73-74, "middle of the sixth century;" Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) 439, "ca. 600 B.C."

fibula that fastens the cloak on the right shoulder is a type datable to the Regolini-Galassi period alone. The arrangement of the women's hair is only speculative, but the man's is cut in a fashion known both in the Near East and in Greece in the seventh century.¹⁴⁰ Seated statues do not appear in Greece as early as the middle of the seventh century, but they are ancient in the Near East, where the attitude is used for divinities and the noble dead.¹⁴¹ Above all, the modeling of the heads of these terracottas is not Greek, and it is only in the generation of the Regolini-Galassi tomb that Etruscan sculpture does not imitate Greek modeling with more or less enthusiasm. Only in this generation, when Greek influence is almost entirely confined to the importation of proto-Corinthian pottery and Oriental motifs are a commonplace, could these "Orientals" have been modeled in Italy.

The black impasto head from a canopic jar (figs. 59, 60)¹⁴² belongs to the same "Oriental" tradition as the Caeretan terracottas; the low, rounded forehead, almond eyes, set off by sharply marked, sweeping eyebrows, the full cheeks and rounded chin are very like; the long ears are handsomely modeled and frame the face as the ears of an ivory head from Sardis do.¹⁴³ The hair is worn like that of the male figure from Cerveteri. Nose, lips and chin are somewhat sharper, and the slight parting of the lips gives the head an alert and lively expression, emphasized by the slightly lifted chin.

Except for the sirens (figs. 52-55), which are undoubtedly importations,¹⁴⁴ none of the bronze figurines of this period from central Italy really achieved the new Orientalizing style. The figure style of Archaic II had been created for bronze; its lively poses and wiry elegance were particularly suited to that material; and the Orientalizing bronzes of Archaic III still betray an intransigent geometrizing, even under the cloak of the new style. Their poses are livelier than those of the terracottas; the closed outline is avoided, and truly heavy, rounded forms are seldom achieved. That this is not due to the limitations of bronze sculpture *per se* is conclusively demonstrated by the sirens themselves and the figure

¹⁴⁰ Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 19) 93, pl. 47, figs. 1 and 2; terracotta from Sparta, Buschor, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) 13, fig. 10; terracotta warrior, Matz, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 44) pl. 31; bronze sirens from Delphi, *Delphi, op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) V, 81, nos. 369, 370, pl. 13, figs. 3, 3 bis, 4, 4 bis. Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 33 shows the women's heads with the restored hair removed.

¹⁴¹ The earliest seems to be the stone statue from Haghigeorgitika, in Athens: Jenkins, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 125) 76-78, pl. 19, 2; dated first quarter of the sixth century. Vieyra, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 133) 72, fig. 57, the god Atarluhas from Carchemish. *Idem*, 83-84, figs. 100-101, King Idri-Mi. Syrian bronzes: Bossert, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) figs. 570, 581, 585-587; Frankfort, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) pls. 142-144, 152 A. In Etruria, all seated statues are funerary. The outstanding series comes from Chiusi, where it begins with the Canopic jars of the late seventh century: Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24), pls. 1, 27 b and c, 31-33, 35. For the importance of the *chair* in the cult of the dead, cf. Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 14) 95-96.

¹⁴² Siena, Museo Archeologico Senese, from Castelluccio la Foce, Collezione Mieli; ht. 0.17 m.

¹⁴³ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 56) pl. 120, figs. 4 and 5; pl. 121, figs. 6 and 7.

¹⁴⁴ *Supra* n. 129; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 14; U. Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel* (Berlin 1955), 42; Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 19) 151. Cf. R. S. Young, "The Gordion Tomb" *Expedition. The Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania*, 1 (1958) 9-11.

from Aleppo (figs. 56–58) as well as other bronze figures from the Near East.¹⁴⁵

The comparative lightness and liveliness of the bronzes of the Regolini-Galassi period must be an inheritance from the figure style of Archaic II, the reverse of what happened to the later bronzes of the old Geometric repertory (the orientalized Geometric group, *supra* pp. 175–178). Here, the new types have some of the old Geometric *brio*. Female figures crowning a pair of candelabra from the Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia (figs. 61–63)¹⁴⁶ wear the costume of the Caeretan bucchero ladies: short-sleeved dress belted at the waist and reaching to the ankles, short, rectangular cloak hanging from the shoulders, long Syrian braid, though without shoulder-locks. The figures stand with feet well separated and arms curving out and forward from the shoulders, the hands open and held at right-angles to the body, the palms held parallel. The short, stocky body is flattened and spread sideways; the head and face are emphasized both by their size and by their greater plasticity: the head is bent downward slightly; the shallow, rounded skull has high-set ears which do not protrude; the face is broadest at the temples, narrowing to a small chin; the bulging, almond eyes are set off by arched eyebrows; the heavy nose overshadows the small straight mouth. This is clearly a provincial version of the heads of the Caeretan terracottas. The long braid that falls to the hem of the skirt is given the value of an incised pattern like the braid of the figure from the second Circolo delle Pelliccie (fig. 21). The stubby, firmly planted feet recall the pose of many Geometric bronzes, while the encircling gesture of the arms is very like that of two of the Hut Urn idols (fig. 1, nos. b and c).¹⁴⁷

The groups of figures that decorate two bronze fittings for the corners of a wooden framework of some kind from the Bernardini Tomb at Praeneste¹⁴⁸ are also a mixture of Oriental and Italic. Men and beasts are splendidly jumbled together in much the same way as the figures were on the incense burner from Capodimonte (*supra* p. 175), but here the scene is not one of daily life but a hunt for some mythological beast in which human heroes are assisted by other mythological creatures (figs. 64, 65). The monster that is being hunted is a gigantic wolf-like animal with a curled tail; to judge by the shape of its head, it is of the same breed as the creatures whose protomes form the ends of the sheaths. These have claws on their forelegs, and their arched necks are covered with scales; they are dragons, and from their jaws dangle the heads of bulls and the bodies of men, whom the dragons hold by the crotch.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Frankfort, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) 117, 175; Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) pl. 35, figs. 363, 364; H. Schaefer, W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients* (Berlin 1925) pl. 496–497.

¹⁴⁶ Florence, Museo Archeologico, nos. 7053, 7054; ht. 0.073 m. Falchi, *NS* 1887, 492–493, 499, pl. 15, figs. 7 and 9; *idem*, *Vetulonia, op. cit.* (*supra* n. 42) 134–135, 142, pl. 10, figs. 8, 10. Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 855, pl. 186, 1 and 2; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 65, nos. 1 and 2; Messerschmidt, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 48) 71, no. 2; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 6 figs. 4 and 5.

¹⁴⁷ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 66.

¹⁴⁸ Curtis, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) III, 82–84, nos. 90, 91; pls. 65, 66.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931) 117, fig. 43; n. 9 on p. 116. Two other crouching monsters of the same breed, with open mouths and lolling tongues, also come from the Bernar-

On one sheath, the hunters are accompanied by two human-headed, four-legged creatures with curled tails (fig. 66), perhaps wingless sphinxes;¹⁵⁰ on the other, a centaur with a human torso and a headdress in the form of a lotus flower is evidently a friend of the hunters.¹⁵¹

The human figures (figs. 67-69) are broad-shouldered, short-bodied, with narrow waists and relatively long legs. The heads are large, with rounded skulls and big faces, broadest at the temples, with long triangular chins; sometimes, at least, these are bearded. There is great depth of profile; the narrow forehead slopes backward and forms a continuous line with the pointed nose; the cheeks are full; the big eyes are indicated by an almond-shaped boss finished with incised lines; like the eyes of the Pelliccie water-carrier (fig. 20), they slant downward at the outer corners; like those of the terracotta figures from Cervetri, and the head in Siena (fig. 60, compare fig. 66), they are shaded by elegantly arched eyebrows that spring from the bridge of the nose. The ears, set high and close to the skull, are shaped like doughnuts. These figures wear a kind of loincloth secured with a broad belt; one hunter wears a short-sleeved tunic as well. On their heads they wear a kind of radiate headdress made up of club-shaped members that spring outward and up; probably these were meant to represent feathers; Curtis compares them with the feather headdresses in Syrian reliefs.¹⁵² Their hair is worn long, hanging loosely down the back.

The proportions of the bodies of these hunters can be compared with Arezzo 11478 (figs. 29-31), though they are rather more realistically modeled; the heads are treated in a manner, new for bronzes, based on the style of the terracotta figures of the Regolini-Galassi period. The costume, loincloth and belt, is also new, and comes from the east.¹⁵³ The attitudes, too, belong to the new repertory. Though two of the figures are armed with swords, they stand, not in the old spear-brandishing pose, but in the so-called Hittite pose, characteristic of Syrian and Hittite warrior figures.¹⁵⁴ The centaur, who also brandished a weapon, held it the same way. One figure (figs. 67-69) stands with both forearms parallel, stretched forward horizontally, the hands open, palms facing; this atti-

dini tomb: Curtis, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) III, 84-85, nos. 92, 93; pl. 67. W. Llewellyn Brown, *The Etruscan Lion* (Oxford 1960) 24-26, pls. 12 a-d, insists, with persuasive arguments, that these are not dragons but a particular breed of early Orientalizing lion created in Etruria. His fine book was published after I had completed this article.

¹⁵⁰ Curtis, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) III, 83, and Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 75, nos. 3 and 4, call these centaurs, but cf. the contemporary wingless sphinx, *Olympia, op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) 150, no. 949, pl. 56; and the Syrian wingless sphinx, Barnett, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) 37.

¹⁵¹ Centaur: Curtis, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) 83 and n. 5; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 75, no. 1. Lotus flower: Hanfmann, *ibid.* 76.

¹⁵² Curtis, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) 82-83, n. 2 on p. 83. Cf. the feather crown worn by a harper on a relief from the garden room of Ashur-bani-pal's palace at Ninevah, London, British Museum 118916; C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria, the Surviving Remains of Assyrian Sculpture, their Recovery and their Original Positions* (London 1936) 191 and pl. 25.

¹⁵³ Belt and kilt: Hittite bronzes, Vieyra, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 133) 86-87, figs. 109, 110; N. Syrian, Bossert, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) figs. 607-609.

¹⁵⁴ Poulsen, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) 57, figs. 53, 56; Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) 134; *idem*, "Note on the Bronze Statuettes of Sardinia," *AJA* 36 (1932) 13-14; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 89.

tude becomes, in the next generation, a characteristic of both male and female votive figures (*infra* p. 191, figs. 87–91).

Heads modeled like the Bernardini bronzes have also been found in Vetulonia: sixteen helmeted heads from the Circolo degli Acquastrini (figs. 70–71)¹⁵⁵ have the deep profile, with pointed nose and bulging cheeks, and the doughnut-shaped ears of the Praenestine warriors. The eyes are holes bored in the skull, in the old Geometric manner (see figs. 12, 26, 32), but they are shadowed by downward-slanting brows. Planned on a relatively large scale, these heads are carefully modeled and beautifully finished; the narrow head is crowned by a triangular helmet, not quite like the Villanovan helmet, though with a similar crest; the cap is decorated by a series of parallel curved ridges. Four of the heads crown a “candelabrum;” their supports are plain. The others, found loose in the tomb, are set on relatively long slender rods ornamented with bead and reel moldings, surprisingly Greek in appearance.¹⁵⁶

The tomb in which these heads were found is considered to be one of the early group of circle tombs at Vetulonia;¹⁵⁷ it contained objects like some found in the Warrior’s Tomb at Tarquinia, and nothing that is Orientalizing in style. Only these heads, which resemble the Orientalizing heads of the Bernardini Tomb, indicate that the Circolo degli Acquastrini, like other tombs at Vetulonia, is not as early as it seems.

The man in the feathered headdress reappears in Orientalizing tombs from northern Etruria, though only as a protome.¹⁵⁸ Once (figs. 72–73) the figure is surrounded by the same sinister dragons as in the Bernardini Tomb, curl-tailed anthropophagi. Another of these protomes (figs. 74–75) wears a tunic of checkered material, the squares indicated by incised lines, like the dresses of the tomb figures from Cervetri (*supra* pp. 184–185); the protome’s long hair hangs loose down his back, like the hair of the Bernardini bronzes.

Though these examples from northern Etruria are more provincial than the Bernardini figures, they have the same wide shoulders and narrow waists, and their big faces have the puffed cheeks, bulging eyes, jutting nose and pointed (bearded?) chin of the Praenestine bronzes.

¹⁵⁵ Florence, Museo Archeologico. Falchi, *NS* 1892, 400; *idem*, *Vetulonia*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 42) 192, pl. 17, nos. 28, 31; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 877, pl. 192, figs. 15, 16 a and b; Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) pl. 25, figs. 11, 13; Messerschmidt, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 48) 72, no. 6; M. Pallottino, “Karmir-Blur” *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 19) 114–115, pls. 44, 45, relates the concentric arcs that decorate the cap of the helmet with ornaments of Urartian helmets of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.

¹⁵⁶ Messerschmidt, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 48) 72, believes that the loose heads were attached originally to other candelabra.

¹⁵⁷ Schachermeyr, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) 148; Åberg, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) 106, no. 5; Dohan, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 17) 105.

¹⁵⁸ Vetulonia, Primo Circolo delle Pelliccie: Falchi, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 42) 164 d, pl. 14, fig. 2; Montelius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 885, pl. 195, fig. 19; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 78, no. 1. Marsiliana, Circolo della Fibula: Minto, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 65) 129, pl. 40 no. 2; Hanfmann, *ibid.*, 78, no. 2. Fabreccce, near Città di Castello (Florence, Museo Archeologico no. 73653): *NS* 1902, 479; Hanfmann, *ibid.*, 78, no. 3; Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) 189, fig. 81; W. Llewellyn Brown, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 149) 25, pl. 11 c.

These decorative bronzes from Orientalizing tombs at Praeneste and Vetulonia introduced the new Orientalizing repertory to the native school of bronzework. Costumes and attitudes are new; such details as the long hair and beards of the men are seen here for the first time. The modeling of the face, primitive though it still is, is very different from that of the Geometric bronzes; the triangular shape, convex profile, puffed cheeks, jutting nose and pointed chin are new; the eye, which is now indicated by incised lines on a projecting boss, is completely unlike the eyes of the Geometric figures, which were either not expressed at all or marked by a slit or a deeply bored hole. But the figures themselves are not too different from some of the Geometric bronzes; the slim, long-legged Bernardini hunters, with their broad shoulders and shallow torsos, still have much in common with the pair from the Bambagini circle (fig. 25).

One of the earliest votive bronzes to conform to the new Orientalizing tradition is a famous figure found near the Lapis Niger in the Roman Forum (figs. 76-78).¹⁵⁹ It has much in common with the Bernardini bronzes and cannot be much later in date. The figure represents a man standing in the Hittite pose with legs together and arms bent forward at the elbows; in his outstretched hands he holds a curved staff, like the *lituus* of the Roman augurs.¹⁶⁰ The broad, rounded shoulders and relatively long legs are not unlike the proportions of the Bernardini bronzes; the head is very big, with a deep profile and a low, rounded crown, like that of the head in Siena (figs. 59-60) and the hair is worn short in the same way. Like the Bernardini figures, the Roman bronze wears a loincloth; it has a triangular flap in front, like an apron, and is fastened in back by a narrow belt.

A buckle from Sovana (fig. 79)¹⁶¹ is decorated with the figure of a man that in proportion and costume is remarkably like the bronze from the Lapis Niger. The arms are more wiry and the legs are straddled, the big broad head is very similar and the loincloth and belt are of the same pattern; they happen to be modeled in higher relief and are less rubbed, and therefore are more visible.

Another votive bronze of the Orientalizing period is in the Siena museum (figs. 80-82).¹⁶² This is a warrior, wearing a heavy helmet with a rounded cap and out-turned brim and a crest with a hanging tail, like the Greek horsehair crest; he also wears a pair of knee-length plaid trousers secured with a leaf-shaped belt. Similar trousers and belts are worn by four figures of tumblers from Castelluccio Ia Foce, also in Siena (fig. 83), and by a bucchero bareback rider from the Tomba

¹⁵⁹ Rome, Antiquarium Forense, no. 885, ht. w. base, 0.076 m.: G. Boni, *NS* 1900, 325, fig. 27 on p. 324; P. Ducati, *L'Arte in Roma* (Rome 1938) 5, pl. 3; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 125; Riis, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 139) 28.

¹⁶⁰ *Baculus sine nodo aduncus*, Livy. 1.18.7; *vide* Latte in Pauly-Wissowa, *Lituus* 2, 805-806.

¹⁶¹ Florence, Museo Archeologico no. 81683, ht. of figure 0.057 m.: *NS* 1902, 505, fig. 6; the two halves of this buckle were obviously not designed to go together, but were found together as shown.

¹⁶² Museo Archeologico Senese, no. 38; ht. 0.077 m., both legs broken at ankles: R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, "Le statuette in bronzo conservate presso la R. Accademia dei Fisiocritici," *La Balzana. Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, I (1927) 19, n. 2.

Calabresi at Cerveteri.¹⁶³ They are very like the plaid trousers of a male figure on an ivory pyxis from Nimrud, though the Syrian figure wears a plaid shirt with short sleeves as well, and also like the plaid trousers worn by the royal guard on a relief from the Palace of Sennacherib.¹⁶⁴

The warrior's hair, under his helmet, is cut short like that of the bronze from the Lapis Niger (figs. 76, 78) and the bronze and bucchero acrobats cited above. The modeling of the face, particularly the puffy cheeks and slit mouth, is very like that of the Bernardini figures (fig. 69). The very flat torso is an exaggeration of the tendency of many of these Orientalizing bronzes to widen and flatten the body,¹⁶⁵ seen also in the Bernardini bronzes (fig. 68) and the female figures from the pair of candelabra in the Tomba del Duce (fig. 63). The extremely wiry arms are a legacy from the Geometric period, as is their attitude; this is the latest of the Spear-Brandishing warriors.

The finest Orientalizing votive bronze is a female figure in Arezzo (figs. 84-86).¹⁶⁶ In costume and attitude, she is very like the figures from the Tomba del Duce (figs. 61-63); the stocky body, flattened in profile, the rounded shoulders, the stubby feet, firmly separated, are very similar. The big head is bent forward in the same way; the arms of Arezzo 11501 are held in the true Hittite pose, rather than in the encircling pose of the figure from Vetulonia (fig. 61). The costume is the same, short-sleeved, belted dress, reaching to the ankles, rectangular cloak hanging from the shoulders. The long, potato-shaped head of Arezzo 11501 recalls the head of the Pelliccie figure (fig. 20) but the features are modeled with more skill and attention to detail, the bulging eyes being particularly emphasized. The hair is elaborately dressed: parted across the top of the head from ear to ear, brushed forward over the forehead, a short spiral curl hanging from the temple in front of each ear, the back hair braided into a long plait which is so thick that it makes a hump at the base of the neck and so long that it reaches, like that of the figure from the Tomba del Duce (fig. 62), to the hem of the skirt. This arrangement of the hair, with little spit curls dangling in front of the ears, is of eastern origin; it is worn by the seated goddess from Tell Halaf, and by a series of ivories from Nimrud.¹⁶⁷

These votive bronzes (figs. 76-78, 80-82, 84-86) belong to the end of the true Orientalizing period in Etruria, to the generation of the great tombs and shortly thereafter. Like the terracottas and the decorative bronzes of this generation, they show not only a new sculpture style whose inspirations were

¹⁶³ Tumblers: unpublished, ht. 0.027 m., l. 0.058 m. Bucchero: Rome, Museo Gregoriano: Pareti, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31) 367, no. 400, pl. 54; Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 21, no. 1; Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 135.

¹⁶⁴ Barnett, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) 191, pl. 16 and 17, S 3. London, British Museum, Palace of Sennacherib, Room 12.

¹⁶⁵ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 67, ivories from the Barberini tomb; 111.

¹⁶⁶ Arezzo, Museo Archeologico 11501; ht. 0.081 m.; G. Micali, *Monumenti per servire alla storia degli antichi popoli italiani* (Florence 1832) pl. 37, fig. 3.

¹⁶⁷ Vieyra, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 133) figs. 88-89. Barnett, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) pls. 70-71, 73-74; 75, S 211.

evidently Near Eastern, but also a number of antiquarian details, particularly of costume and hair-fashion, which suggest very strongly that more than style alone was being imported to central Italy in the mid seventh century. Actual Oriental fashions in clothing and arrangement of the hair must have been imported as well, and this phenomenon is not paralleled elsewhere in the Mediterranean. In Greece, male figures do wear the short, square-cut hair and occasionally a belt or a loincloth,¹⁶⁸ but never the plaid trousers or the feather headdress. The dress of the female figures of the Regolini-Galassi period cannot be traced directly to the Near East, though their fondness for plaid material is Oriental rather than Greek, but the arrangements of the hair, in a long braid hanging to the hem of the skirt, with two locks either falling on the shoulders from behind the ears or dangling from the temples in front of the ears, are never found in Greece but are a commonplace in the Near East. The evidence for direct familiarity with Eastern costumes in the generation of the great tombs is so strong as to suggest that Easterners were wearing them in central Italy at that time, that in fact, they are direct evidence for the presence there of Oriental "Etruscans."

THE FIRST ETRUSCAN FIGURE STYLE.

The tombs of the generation after the Regolini-Galassi period are full of pottery, Corinthian importations and Italian bucchero and painted wares,¹⁶⁹ but they are conspicuously empty of bronzes. And indeed any decorative bronzes of the late seventh century are almost unknown. On the other hand, there are a great many votive bronzes that must be assigned to the last generation of the seventh century on stylistic grounds, although as usual, their archaeological context is unknown.

Two main types were most popular in this generation: a male figure holding a weapon (figs. 87-89) and a female offering a libation (figs. 90-91). The male figures, apparently warriors,¹⁷⁰ stand in the Hittite pose, like the Bernardini hunters and the votive bronze from the Lapis Niger (figs. 67, 77); like them, they wear a loincloth, and they are bare-headed like the Syrian warriors that are their prototypes.¹⁷¹ The female figures also stand in the Hittite pose; the left hand is open, palm up, in a gesture of prayer already seen in Arezzo 11501

¹⁶⁸ Head from Sparta: Buschor, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) 13, fig. 10. Bronze kouros from Delphi, *Delphi, op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) V, pl. 3; Buschor, *ibid.*, 11-12, fig. 8. Bronze from Athens: Zervos, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) fig. 50, Athens National Museum no. 696, de Ridder, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 125) 243, fig. 213.

¹⁶⁹ Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) cols. 228-229; Åberg, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) 129, "vierte Periode." Cf. a tomb from Pitigliano, *StEtr* 14 (1940) 353, *supra* n. 94.

¹⁷⁰ Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 88-90, "Die Schwerträger (Schurzkuroid)." K. A. Neugebauer, "Der älteste Gladiatorentypus," *BerlMus* 61 (1940) 7-17; *idem*, *AA* 55 (1940) cols. 608-611. Here, figs. 87-89, Arezzo 11495, ht. w. base 0.107 m. Micali, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 166) pl. 37, 8; Hanfmann, *ibid.*, 88 no. 7.

¹⁷¹ Bossert, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) figs. 607-609; Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27) pl. 37, figs. 376-377, 379-380; pl. 38, figs. 381-386.

(fig. 84), the right holds, or held, some object; in one case (fig. 90), it is a cup whose shape is typical of the Regolini-Galassi period.¹⁷² These female figures wear the short skirt of the Regolini-Galassi period; their hair is plaited in the long Syrian braid, occasionally with an additional spiral lock falling on each shoulder, but more frequently the head is covered with a broad heavy cloak that envelops the body as well and falls to the hem of the dress (figs. 90-91).

Though a heavy cloak worn over the head and covering the whole figure was apparently fashionable under the late Hittite empire and among some of the peoples who fell foul of the Assyrians in the late eighth century,¹⁷³ such a garment is not worn in Etruria during the generation of the great tombs; its first appearance, apart from these bronze figures, is on the ivory pyxis from the second Tomba della Pania at Chiusi.¹⁷⁴ Although there is considerable difference of opinion as to the absolute date of this pyxis,¹⁷⁵ it is clearly later than the Regolini-Galassi period: its inspiration is Greek rather than Oriental; the floral chains that separate the bands of relief imitate Corinthian floral ornaments, without actually reproducing any correctly; one of the warriors from the upper frieze wears a Corinthian helmet, and the two lower friezes illustrate Greek myths.¹⁷⁶ The enveloping cloaks worn by the women on the top frieze,¹⁷⁷ for all their plaid material, may be taken from Greece too; an ivory plaque from the shrine of Artemis Orthia at Sparta shows a woman wearing a similar heavy cloak, and a lighter shawl covers the head and shoulders of some Ionian ivory figures of the late seventh century.¹⁷⁸

Certain other details may also be due to a revived influence from Greece:

¹⁷² F. Magi, "Di due bronzetti arcaici di offerenti," *StEtr* 12 (1938) 267-270, pl. 48. Here, figs. 90-91, Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 225, ht. 0.095 m.; Magi, *ibid.*, pl. 48, figs. 1 and 2.

¹⁷³ C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish: Report on the excavations at Jerablus on behalf of the British Museum. Part II, the Town Defences* (London 1921) pls. B 19-B 22 a, frieze from the processional entry. Vieyra, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 133) figs. 47, 51, 54, from Carchemish; fig. 72, seated figure from Marash. H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum* (Paris/Brussels 1928) pl. 25, 2, young Arab woman; pl. 26, 2, refugees; pl. 35, flight of the Canaanites from Lachish.

¹⁷⁴ Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 73846; R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, "Clusium, ricerche archeologiche e topografiche su Chiusi e il suo territorio in età etrusca," *MonAnt* 30 (1925) col. 352; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 81, fig. 1; Huls, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) 63, cat. no. 62, with bibliography, 168-169, pl. 29 fig. 2; pl. 30.

¹⁷⁵ Payne, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 149) 138, dates the situla in the first half of the seventh century; Å. Åkerström, *Studien über die etruskischen Gräber unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung des Kammergrabes* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 3, 1934) 170, dates it after 600 B.C.; Huls, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) 62, lists it under the "cycle orientalisant récent."

¹⁷⁶ The somewhat earlier pyxis from the first Pania tomb, Chiusi, apparently also illustrates the escape of Odysseus from the Cyclops, Huls, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) 62, cat. no. 61, pls. 27-29, 1; this situla is also decorated with floral chains, and the warriors wear Corinthian helmets. In addition, the long Syrian braid is worn by the women on the second zone, Huls *ibid.* pl. 28, Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 106.

¹⁷⁷ Huls, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) pl. 29, 2, pl. 30; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 81, fig. 1.

¹⁷⁸ Poulsen, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) 103, figs. 106, 107 on p. 101; D. G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus: the Archaic Artemisia*, (London 1908) Chap. 9, "The Ivory Statuettes," by C. Smith, 158 no. 4, pl. 24, fig. 3; 160, no. 8, pl. 24, fig. 5; Barnett, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) 19-20.

the arrangement of the hair of the male figures, in a long bob that touches the top of the shoulders, leaving the ears uncovered, is a fashion also worn by some Greek kouroi of the seventh century,—apparently it is a development of the shorter square-cut hair worn both in Italy and in Greece earlier in the century.¹⁷⁹ The Hittite pose itself is not uncommon in Greece in the seventh century.¹⁸⁰ Some of the Etruscan male figures (fig. 87) advance the left foot, like a Greek kouros, and the angle of the profile is no longer slanting, like the Orientalizing figures (cf. figs. 59, 76), but vertical, with a break in the line between nose and forehead, and the chin making a right-angle with the line of the shoulders. Nevertheless, the style of the figures as a whole is not Greek at all.

These votive bronzes mark the beginning of a truly Etruscan figure style, developed in Italy, apparently from the amalgamation of the early Geometric figure style and the Orientalizing, with a slight trace of Greek influence. Iconographically, they are the heirs of the Orientalizing tradition. The fact that men and women are clothed, the short skirts of the women and their hair arranged in the Syrian long braid and shoulder locks, the *perizoma* of the men, above all, the Hittite pose, are elements that were introduced to Italic sculpture during the Regolini-Galassi period. Stylistically these figures have the heavy, rounded forms and the static pose of the Orientalizing bucchero and terracotta figures, but the old Geometric proportions can be seen in the big heads, long torsos, rounded hips and short legs of the warriors (compare figs. 87–89 with 7 and 16), and the Geometric attitude in the widelyseparated feet of the women (figs. 91, 7, 9, 10, 16). The modeling of the heads is evidently a development of the style of the Bernardini bronzes; the fat cheeks and bulging eyes, even such details as the doughnut ears of fig. 87 come from that school.

In Italy, these types, the warrior wearing a *perizoma* and the woman pouring a libation, and the figure style in which they are modeled, appear only in Etruria. Unlike the Wiry Geometric and its followers, but like the Orientalizing style, this first Etruscan figure style did not spread beyond the political borders of the Etruscan territory. In the Po Valley, at Este, and in Picenum, the statue types of the archaic period are, almost without exception, derived from the Wiry Geometric style of Tuscany (*supra* pp. 178–181). This limited geographical range of the first Etruscan figure style is another indication that there was a distinct line of demarcation between the Etruscans of the Orientalizing period and the Villanovans who had developed the Geometric styles and passed them on to their Italic neighbors. Evidently the close connection that had existed between the Po Valley and Tuscany in the Geometric period had been completely broken during the Orientalizing one.

¹⁷⁹ Buschor, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) 6, fig. 2, late Geometric warrior from the Athenian Acropolis; 13, fig. 10, terracotta head from Sparta; figs. 35–36, wooden head from Samos.

¹⁸⁰ Kouros from Dreros: G. M. A. Richter, *Kouros* (New York 1942) 41–42, pl. 4, fig. 11. Kouros from Athens: de Ridder, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 125) 243, nos. 695, 696, figs. 212, 213; Zervos, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) fig. 50.

THE FORMAL GEOMETRIC STYLE.

But in Etruria itself, contemporary with the sturdy rounded figure style of the generation after that of the great tombs, and used for precisely the same statue types, appears another figure style, which can again be best described as Geometric. This style I call the Formal Geometric. There are five warrior figures in the Formal Geometric style in the museums of Arezzo and Volterra; ¹⁸¹ the head is very big and heavy, with great depth of profile, while the body is elongated, attenuated and very much flattened (figs. 92-94). The Bambagini figures (fig. 25) were perhaps the ancestors of these bronzes. The female counterparts of these warriors (figs. 95-97) are treated in a similar way; ¹⁸² they are not so elongated, but the big heavy head, with its narrow face and jutting profile, dominates the attenuated body, which is flattened in front and forms two flat intersecting planes behind, so that in cross-section it is a triangle (figs. 95-97). There are somewhat later female figures of this type whose proportions are more like those of the warriors; a series from Volterra is particularly barbarous. ¹⁸³

Two bronzes in Cortona also belong to the Formal Geometric group. One (figs. 98-99), ¹⁸⁴ apparently a male figure, to judge from the short, squared haircut and flat chest, wears a long tight garment that hides the feet and is decorated with an incised lozenge pattern, as if it were the Regolini-Galassi plaid run on the bias. The shoulders of this figure are very broad, the torso very narrow; the long arms are bent in the Hittite pose, but the hands are curved inward at the wrists; both are half open and apparently never held anything.

The other bronze (figs. 100-102) ¹⁸⁵ represents a winged goddess on whose head a dove sits; the lady's arms are in the Hittite attitude, the right hand held palm up, the left open and vertical, palm in. Sickly wings spring from her shoulders; she is nude above the waist but wears a long skirt decorated in a lozenge pattern with a central dot in each lozenge. The big head is a barbaric cousin of Florence 225 (figs. 90-91), fat cheeks, pursed mouth, little pointed chin, inquisitive nose, huge, bulging, almond-shaped eyes with heavy, arched eyebrows. Her hair illustrates what happens to the Syrian braid and shoulder curls when they are unbraided: the long back section hangs loose over the shoulder-blades, the shorter sections on each side will be curled or braided to hang in front of the

¹⁸¹ Arezzo 11492, ht. 0.10 m.; Neugebauer *BerlMus op. cit.* (*supra* n. 170), 8, n. 3, no. 4. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, nos. 19, 22, 23, 24, unpublished.

¹⁸² Arezzo 11506, ht. 0.074 m.; Arezzo 11507; Volterra 92, 104, unpublished.

¹⁸³ G. Monaco, "Le statuette bronzee etrusche del R. Museo di Antichità di Parma," *St-Etr* 16 (1942) 520, no. 1, pl. 31, fig. 1. Messerschmidt, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 113) pl. 27, I 24 a and b.

¹⁸⁴ Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca, no. 1624; ht. 0.113 m.; G. Maetzke, "La collezione etrusco-romana del museo dell'Accademia Etrusca di Cortona," *Accademia Etrusca di Cortona, Nono Annuario*, nuova serie 2 (1953) pp. 13-14, fig. 9.

¹⁸⁵ Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca, no. 1571; ht. 0.145 m.; E. Gerhard, *Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften* (Berlin 1866, 1868) pl. 28, fig. 2; Maetzke, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 184) p. 13, fig. 8.

ears, as in the seated figure from Tell Halaf or the Nimrud ivories ¹⁸⁶ and the Orientalizing votive bronze, Arezzo 11501 (figs. 84-86). The costume, a long skirt with the upper part of the body nude, is an Eastern fashion ¹⁸⁷ that appears occasionally in Etruria in the seventh century: the bronze bust from the Isis tomb at Vulci and one of the female figures from the Pietrera tomb at Vetulonia wear this costume, though the Pietrera figure has a cloak hanging from her shoulders as well. ¹⁸⁸ The winged goddess herself in Eastern, though she is also known in Greece, as Mistress of Animals, in the archaic period. ¹⁸⁹

It must be noted that the bronzes in the Formal Geometric style are more provincial in appearance than the votive figures in the first Etruscan figure style (figs. 87-91), but in general the two styles must be contemporary. (Some of the female figures in the Formal Geometric style, notably a barbarous series from Volterra, wear the Ionian shoes with curled toes that apparently were not part of a lady's costume till the sixth century, ¹⁹⁰ but the warriors (figs. 92-94) and the two bronzes from Cortona (figs. 98-102) cannot be later than the end of the seventh. The geographical distribution of the two styles is the same; examples of both are found in the local museums of Arezzo and Volterra and at Florence, whose collection of bronzes is exclusively northern Etruscan. One might presume that the two styles were produced in two different centers, but there is no evidence that this was the case; in fact, the evidence is all against it. Two distinct figure styles, both used for the same votive types, were used in the same territory, during the same period.

MANNERIST GEOMETRIC: THE UMBRIAN SCHOOL OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

The Formal Geometric style should not be confused with a tendency toward mannerist elongation that appears here and there throughout the archaic and early classical periods in Etruria, as in fact it does in Greece. ¹⁹¹ The decorative warriors and armed woman from Brolio, of the late seventh century, are early

¹⁸⁶ Vieyra, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 133) figs. 88-89; Bossert, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) fig. 454. Barnett, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 81) pls. 70-75.

¹⁸⁷ Syrian bronze, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: E. Babelon, J.-A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1895) 331, no. 752, fig. in text. Hittite bronze, Berlin; Bossert, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 43) fig. 588; cf. Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 13) 31 and n. 104 on p. 32.

¹⁸⁸ Bust from the Polledrara tomb, Vulci: London, British Museum, Walters, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 116) 59-60, no. 434; Mühlestein, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) fig. 179; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 86, figs. 1-3; Hausenstein, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31) fig. 7. Torso from the Pietrera tumulus: Florence, Museo Archeologico, Falchi, *NS* 1894, 336, fig. 2; Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, (*supra* n. 13) 39, no. 7.

¹⁸⁹ Goddess from Carchemish: Vieyra, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 133) pl. 47. Potnia Theron: E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* (Munich 1940) 34, fig. 41; *Olympia*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) IV, pl. 38, no. 696.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. the figures from Volterra (nos. 65, 69, 103); Messerschmidt, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 113) pl. 27, I 24 a and b. Apparently the first figure to wear shoes with upturned toes in Etruria is the relief from Pomarance (Volterra) of Larth Atharnies, Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 69, fig. 1.

¹⁹¹ For example, the Volomandra kouros, Richter, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 180) 130-131, no. 51, figs. 161-162; the kouros from Tenea, *ibid.* 137-138, no. 58, figs. 185-188.

and splendid examples of this mannerist tendency; a kouros in Florence, of the first half of the sixth century, one from Chiusi and another from Palestrina, of about 525 B.C., are later archaic examples; the votive kouros and koré from Monteguragazza are early classic examples, dating from the first half of the fifth century.¹⁹²

A warrior in Florence (figs. 103-104)¹⁹³ wears the leather cuirass and Attic helmet of warriors on Red Figure vases of the early fifth century.¹⁹⁴ Except for his big Etruscan eyes, this bronze has the classic features of Greek statues of the second quarter of the fifth century; his slight build, exaggeratedly large head and gracefully decorative pose are characteristic of the Etruscan mannerist figures of this period. A Minerva in Vienna (figs. 105-106),¹⁹⁵ though less handsome, may be compared with this warrior in attitude and proportions. Other figures of warriors and Minervas carry the mannerist tendencies much farther. A bearded warrior in Oxford (fig. 107)¹⁹⁶ and a Minerva from Fermo (figs. 108-109)¹⁹⁷ may serve as illustrations. In both cases, the large head is carried on an extremely slender body; the arms are short and thin, the legs long and graceful; in the case of the Minerva, their length and slenderness is emphasized by the clinging skirt.

Where these particular bronzes were made is not known: my (private) opinion is that this particular classical mannerist style was developed in the Greek-Etruscan city of Spina on the Adriatic,—at any rate, figures like these evidently set the types and initiated the style of the Umbrian Geometric school, the Mannerist Geometric.

For Mannerist elongation did, in the fifth century, so affect the first bronze statuary produced in Umbria as to bring about the creation of a new Geometric style, the Mannerist Geometric. Unlike Picenum and the Po Valley, or Campania, Umbria seems to have produced no bronzes in the Geometric period; even during the archaic period the only bronzes in Umbria were Etruscan importations. Only at the end of the sixth century are there even bronzes from Perugia, that half-Etruscan city, that were of local manufacture under strong Etruscan influence.¹⁹⁸ But the strictly Umbrian cities along the Etruscan border, Todi,

¹⁹² Brolio bronzes: Florence, Museo Archeologico 561-564, Mühlestein, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20) figs. 181-183; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 84. Kouros: Florence, Museo Archeologico no. 29; Micali, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 166) pl. 34, fig. 8; Palestrina, Barberini Collection (Rome, Villa Giulia 13079), Giglioli, *ibid.*, pl. 126, fig. 2; Berlin, Antiquarium, Fr. 2159, Mühlestein, *ibid.*, fig. 189, Giglioli, *ibid.*, pl. 126, fig. 3. Monteguragazza bronzes: Bologna, Museo Civico, Ducati, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 58) 144-145, fig. in text; Giglioli, *ibid.*, pl. 220, figs. 1-4.

¹⁹³ Florence, Museo Archeologico no. 586, ht. 0.33 m.: Micali, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 166) pl. 39; Hausenstein, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31) fig. 42; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 221, fig. 2.

¹⁹⁴ Buschor, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 189) 147, fig. 167; 152, fig. 170; 160, fig. 179; 168, fig. 187. *Olympia*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 29) IV, 170, nos. 1025, 1027, pl. 63.

¹⁹⁵ Vienna, Kunsthistorische Sammlung no. 7; E. von Sacken, *Die antiken Bronzen des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes in Wien* (Vienna 1871) I, 29, pl. 8, fig. 8.

¹⁹⁶ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Fortnum Collection B 6, ht. 0.288 m.

¹⁹⁷ Florence, Museo Archeologico, 70793, ht. 0.238 m.; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 125, fig. 3.

¹⁹⁸ Banti, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 23) 107-109, especially 108, c.

Cagli, Calvi, etc., did eventually produce a very great number of votive bronzes whose costume dates them in the fifth century, and whose style is not at all Etruscan, though it is frequently said to be and its inspiration was.¹⁹⁹

The types produced by the Umbrian Geometric school are warriors and Minervas, like the mannerist figures described above (figs. 103-109). The warriors (figs. 110-112)²⁰⁰ are designed in an elongated, attenuated style so that body, arms and legs are given an almost linear value while the big head with the spreading crest of the helmet seems the only solid part of the figure. In this style, as in the earlier Formal Geometric of northern Etruria, the tendency is to elongate, narrow and flatten the body, leaving the head big and prominent, but the grace of the Mannerists has given the Umbrian figures a swinging line such as is found nowhere else in Italic sculpture. Seen from the front (figs. 111, 112), the figures appear to be perfectly straight; in profile, the body is swung in an S-curve that starts with the heel of the right foot and ends with the front point of the helmet's crest (fig. 110). The slant of the spear in the right hand repeats the slant of the left thigh; the swing of the right leg is balanced by the swing of the tail of the crest. The decorative tendency here, as in no other group of figures from ancient Italy, except the horsemen from the Villanovan tripods (fig. 6), is to make a pattern of the figure in profile.

These warriors have in the past been called primitive and dated in the eighth or seventh centuries,²⁰¹ but they cannot, in fact, be any earlier than the warrior in Florence (figs. 103-104). The costume, the leather cuirass and Attic helmet with raised cheekpieces, is the same; the outline of the face, in profile (fig. 110), has the long straight nose and short square chin of heads by the Achilles painter.²⁰²

There are fewer Minervas of high quality (figs. 113-114),²⁰³ but a few show the same decorative tendency as the warriors, with the addition that the pattern made by the crest of the helmet is balanced by the silhouette of the flattened skirt (fig. 113).

¹⁹⁹ Banti, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 23) 108, b and n. 5; *infra* ns. 200 and 203.

²⁰⁰ London, British Museum, Walters, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 116) 61, no. 444, ht. 0.282 m. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Fortnum Collection B 7, ht. 0.275 m. Others: R. Paribeni, "Figurina italica di bronzo," *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara, raccolti in occasione del suo LXX anno* (Città del Vaticano 1937) 359-363, pl. 47, Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 80 a; (from Calvi); E. Galli, "Materiali etruschi tudertini a Pesaro," *StEtr* 13 (1939) 411-412, nos. 1 and 3, pl. 26, figs. 1-3 (from Todi); Perugia, Museo Civico, Coll. Guardabassi, Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 222, fig. 1; Vacano, *ibid.*, pl. 80 b (from Perugia); Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 5511, Giglioli, *ibid.* pl. 221, 3; Florence, Museo Archeologico 341; Goldscheider, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) fig. 75; Providence, Rhode Island, G. M. A. Hanfmam, "The Etruscans and their Art," *Bulletin of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design* 28 (1940) 2-3, fig. 1.

²⁰¹ Cf. Goldscheider, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) under figs. 75 and 76.

²⁰² Buschor, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 189) 201, fig. 217; 202, fig. 218.

²⁰³ London, British Museum, Walters, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 116) 61, no. 443, ht. 0.209 m.; Loukomski, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31) pl. 59; G. Fogolari, *StEtr* 23 (1954) 386, fig. 1 on p. 387; Rome, Villa Giulia, no. 24551, ht. 0.0325 m., Goldscheider, *op. cit.*, (*supra* n. 24) fig. 76, Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 83 b.

The Umbrian Geometric style descended to barbarism by the end of the fifth century (fig. 115).²⁰⁴ Its great period can have lasted hardly more than a single generation, and no other truly Umbrian school appeared later. The late classical and Hellenistic sculpture from Umbria is Etruscan in style as well as subject, and may well have been made by Etruscan sculptors.²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, this Mannerist Geometric school in Umbria furnishes an illuminating parallel to the Wiry Geometric school of Tuscany, the first bronze figure style of central Italy. Both schools have a tendency to abstract and geometrize the human form and to make an elegant decoration of the result. Though both schools were influenced by, and probably originated in imitation of a foreign school (Greek Geometric in the case of the Wiry Geometric, Hellenized Etruscan in the case of the Umbrian), both produced a highly individual and unmistakable style, lively and successful, if short-lived and circumscribed. Neither school had much to do with the genuinely Etruscan figure style, whose inspiration was largely Oriental. The artists of the Mannerist Geometric school were Umbrians, not Etruscans. It is my conviction that the artists of the Wiry Geometric school were not Etruscans either, but that the Villanovans, an urnfield people who reached Italy by sea from the eastern Mediterranean, whatever their ultimate origins may have been, spoke an Indo-European language and were, in fact, related to the Indo-European speaking Italic tribes of the Apennines who had reached Italy from the east during the Bronze Age, just as, in Greece, the cremating Dorians of the early Iron Age invaded the lands of their kinsmen, the inhuming Achaeans of the Bronze Age. One may suggest that the Villanovans were Herodotus' *Umbri* among whom he says the Etruscans settled.²⁰⁶

The presence of the Formal Geometric style in northern Etruria itself, during the late seventh century, when the first Etruscan figure style was developing, indicates that there were two lively artistic traditions occupying the same region at the same time. The presumption must be that there were still *Italic* living in Etruria after the arrival of the Etruscans, and that their artistic tendency toward abstract geometrization managed to hold its own against Etruscan influence, for a while at least, in the early generations of Etruscan domination. In short, the recurrent Geometric in the sculpture of central Italy must be accepted as a serious argument for the theory of Etruscan origin that brings the Etruscans from the east to settle in a region already inhabited by people of a different culture, the *Italic*.

²⁰⁴ Cf. the series of votive warriors from Cagli; G. Bendinelli, *MonAnt* 26 (1920) cols. 224-234, figs. 1-11; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 222, figs. 6 and 10. London, British Museum, Walters, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 116) 61, no. 442 (here fig. 115).

²⁰⁵ Bendinelli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 204) cols. 239-242, pl. 1; col. 242, fig. 14; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) pl. 243 (heads from Cagli). Giglioli, *ibid.* pls. 250-251 (Mars of Todi).

²⁰⁶ Herodotus I. 94.6; P. Ducati, *Le Problème Étrusque* (Études d'archéologie et d'histoire, Paris 1938) 66-68.

PLATES





Fig. 1. - Vatican, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano 224, 226, 242. Phot. Gall. Mus. Vaticani.



Fig. 2. - Rome Museo Preistorico 79307. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 3. - Rome, Museo Preistorico, S. N. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 4. -- Bowl from Bisenzio. Rome, Museo Preistorico 51762. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 5. -- Bronze female figure from Rhodes. London, British Museum.



Fig. 6. -- Horseman from a tripod, Poggio alla Guardia, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico 6180. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 7 and 8. - Pendant from a *fossa* tomb, Poggio Gallinaro 9, Tarquinia. Florence, Museo Archeologico. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 9. - Figure from a "candelabrum," Circolo dei Bambagini 1899, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico 6611. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 10. - Handle of a cup, Circolo del Tridente, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico 7182. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 11. - Three bronzes from the Circolo del Tridente, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico 7137, 7138, 7139. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 12 and 13. - Votive Warrior, Arezzo 11469. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 14 and 15. - "Civilian," Arezzo 11466. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 16-18. - Female figure, Arezzo 11473. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 19. - Figures from the Arsenale and Deposito di S. Francesco, Bologna. Bologna, Museo Civico.



Figs. 20 and 21. - Water-carrier from a "candelabrum," 2nd Circolo delle Pelliccie, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico 6830. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 22. - Apes from a "candelabrum," Circolo dei Lebeti, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 23. - Amulet, Circolo del Tritone, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 24. - Amulet. London, British Museum.



Fig. 25. - Chained figures, Circolo della Costiaccia Bambagini, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico 8380. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 26-28. - Votive Bronzes, Arezzo. Phot. E.H.R.

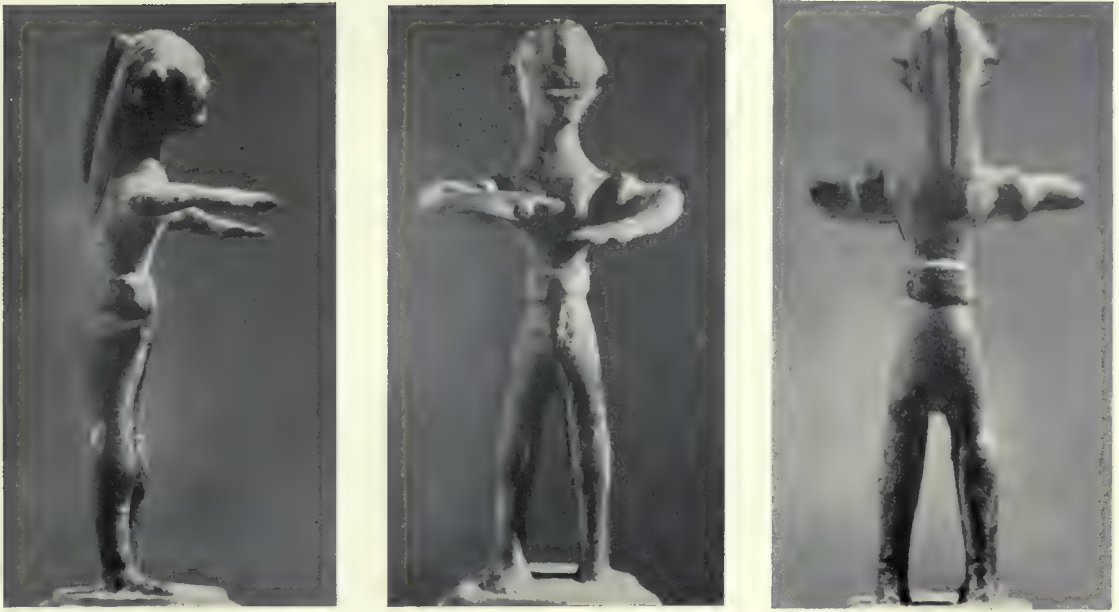


Fig. 29-31. - Female figure, Arezzo 11478. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 32-34. - Female Figure, Arezzo 11477. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 35-37. - Ivory figure, Circolo della Fibula, Marsiliana. Florence, Museo Archeologico. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 38-40. - Warrior from a "candelabrum," Circolo del Tritone, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico 6678. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 41 and 42. - Votive bronze, Arezzo 11462. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 43 and 44. - Amulet, from Pozzo 79, Poggio alla Guardia, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico 7944. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 45. - Fibula, horse and rider from Bologna. Bologna, Museo Civico.



Fig. 46. - Fibula, horses and riders, from Este. Museo Nazionale Atestino.

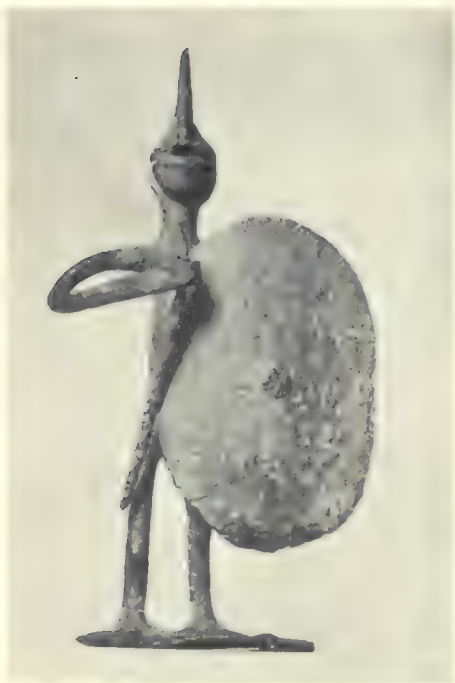


Fig. 47. - Warrior from Este. Museo Nazionale Atestino.



Fig. 48. - Warrior from Reggio Emilia. Bologna, Museo Civico.



Fig. 49. - Amulet from a tomb near Caserta. Rome, Museo Preistorico 79692. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 50. - Female figure from Campania. London, British Museum 345.



Fig. 51. - Bronzes from Lucera. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.



Figs. 52 and 53. — Siren from a cauldron, Bernardini Tomb, Praeneste. Rome, Museo Preistorico. Phot. Felbermeyer.

Figs. 54 and 55. — Siren from a cauldron, Tomba dei Lebeti, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 56-58. - Bronze female figure from Aleppo. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1899. 794.



Figs. 59 and 60. - Head from a canopic jar, Castelluccio la Foce. Siena, Museo Archeologico Senese. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 61-63. - Woman from a "candelabrum," Tomba del Duce, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico 7053. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 64. - Bronze sheath, Bernardini Tomb, Praeneste. Rome, Museo Preistorico. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 65. - Bronze sheath, side view.



Fig. 66. - Detail of bronze sheath, wingless sphinx.



Figs. 67-69. - Detail of bronze sheath, male figure in Hittite pose.



Figs. 70 and 71. - Warrior's head, Circolo degli Acquastrini, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 72. - Handle of a vessel, Fabrecce (Città di Castello). Florence, Museo Archeologico 73653. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 73. - Detail of central figure.



Figs. 74 and 75. - Handle of a vessel, 1st Circolo delle Pelliccie, Vetulonia. Florence, Museo Archeologico. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 76-78. - Male figure from the Lapis Niger, Rome. Rome, Antiquarium Forense 885. Phot. Felbermeyer.

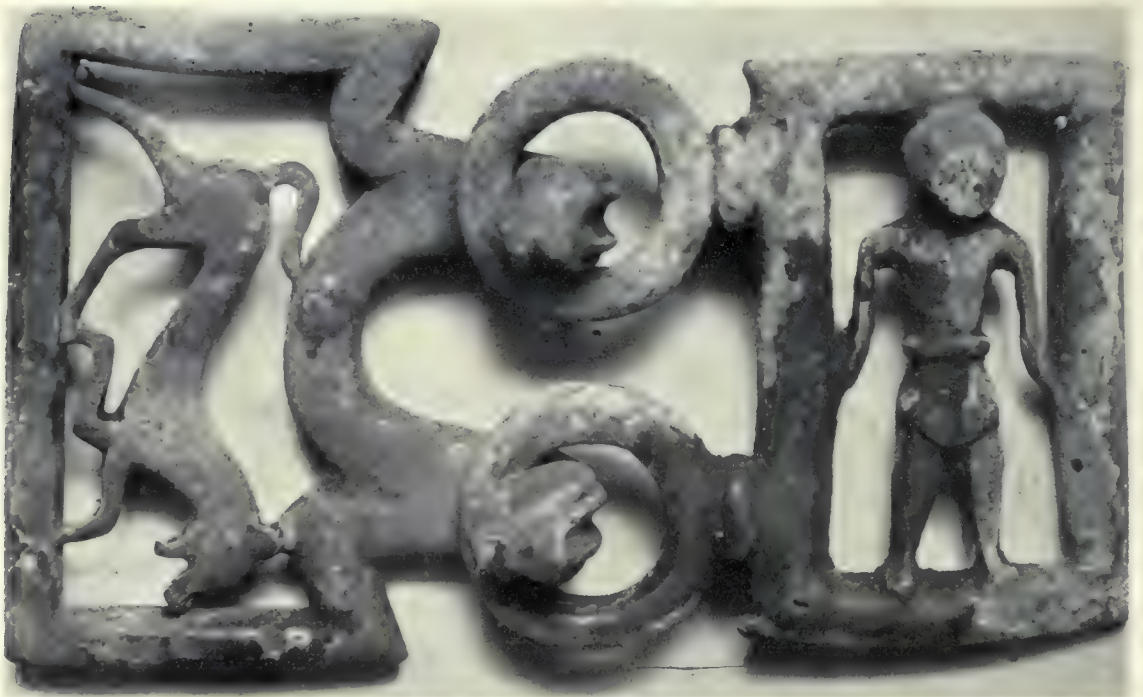


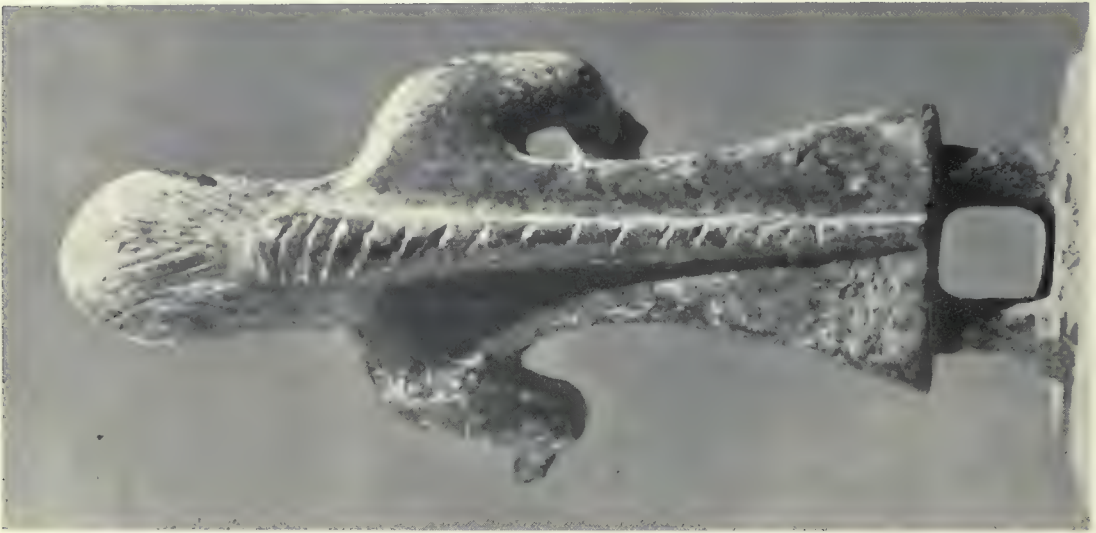
Fig. 79. - Buckle from Sovana. Florence, Museo Archeologico 81683.



Figs. 80-82. - Warrior. Siena, Museo Archeologico Senese 38. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 83. - Tumbler, from Castelluccio la Foce. Siena, Museo Archeologico Senese. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 84-86. - Female figure. Arezzo 11501. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 87-89. - Warrior in perizoma. Arezzo 11495. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 90 and 91. - Woman in cloak. Florence, Museo Archeologico 225. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 92-94. - Warrior in perizoma. Arezzo 11492. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 95-97. - Woman in cloak. Arezzo 11506. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 98 and 99. - Male figure. Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca 1624. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 100-102. - Winged goddess. Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca 1571. Phot. Felbermeyer.



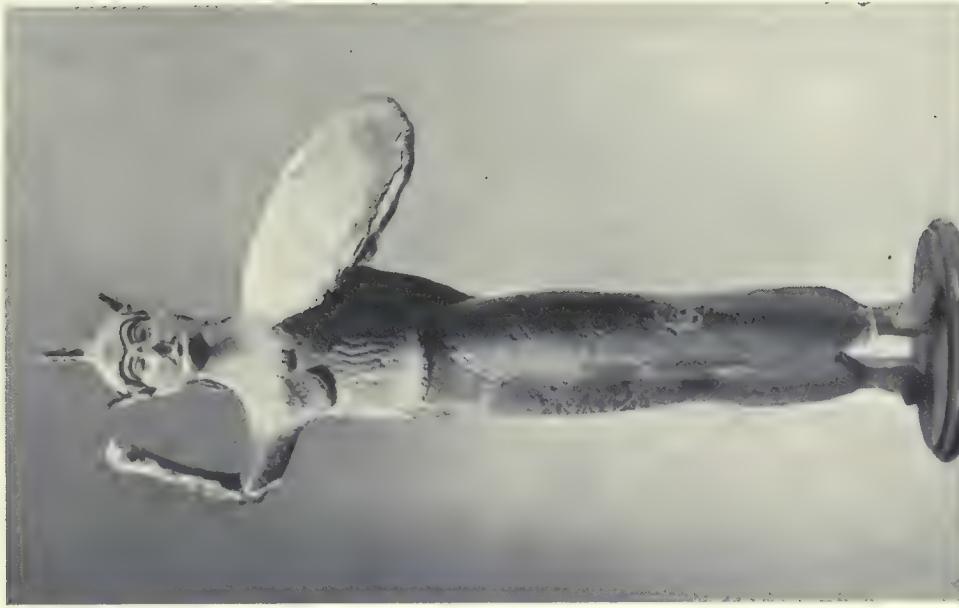
Figs. 103 and 104. - Warrior, first half of the fifth century. Florence, Museo Archeologico 586.
Phot. Felbermeyer.



Figs. 105 and 106. - Minerva, first half of the fifth century. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 7.



Fig. 107. - Warrior. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Fortnum B 6.



Figs. 108 and 109. - Minerva from Fermo. Florence, Museo Archeologico 70793. Phot. Felbermeyer.



Fig. 112. - Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Fortnum B 7.

Figs. 110 and 111. - London, British Museum 444.



Fig. 115. - London, British Museum 442.



Figs. 113 and 114. London, British Museum 443.



CAERETAN VS. FALISCAN:
SOME ETRUSCAN RED-FIGURED KYLIKES

BY

MARIO A. DEL CHIARO

CAERETAN VS. FALISCAN: SOME ETRUSCAN RED-FIGURED KYLIKES

As an addition to studies I have made of two Etruscan red-figured fabrics which depict common themes,¹ I wish to present here a number of kylikes which carry in their medallion a female head in profile, facing to the left. Like some red-figured hydriae² now known to belong to two specific centers of production, *Caere* and *Falerii*, these kylikes also reveal—at first glance—their place of origin by the *full sakkos* type which is worn by the women portrayed in their medallions. Before discussing the differences of fabric, I shall list and describe the specimens below according to their respective centers of manufacture.

CAERETAN.

1. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. no. 346 (Pl. I, figs. 1 and 2) (Castellani Collection).
Provenience, unrecorded. However, in view of the extensive Castellani land-holdings at Cerveteri, "Caere" is not improbable.
Height, 8.2 cms.; diameter of bowl, 21.8 cms.
Two concentric circles are painted under the foot.
2. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia, no inv. number (Pl. I, fig. 3) *Mon. Ant.* XLII (1955), p. 931, no. 35. fig. 220.
Provenience, Caere (Tomb 407, Necropoli della Banditaccia).
Height, 9 cms.; diameter of bowl, 23.4 cms.
Two concentric circles are painted under the foot.

These two vases³ were decorated by a single artist, whose characteristic style is best seen in the drawing of the very sharp, pointed nose and the deep undercutting of the lower lip, as well as the broad dash for the nostril. Very much the same for both heads is the treatment of the hair: a broad line at the forehead with a gathering before the ear which then hangs in a long wavy tress.

¹ Mario A. Del Chiaro, *The Genucilia Group: A Class of Etruscan Red-Figured Plates*, University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, vol. 3, no. 4 (1957), pp. 243-372 (henceforth, *Genucilia Group*); "Etruscan Oinochoai of the Torcop Group," *St. Etr.* XXVIII (1960), pp. 137-164; "Caeretan vs. Faliscan: Two Etruscan Red-Figured Hydriae, *AJA* 64 (1960), pp. 295-300.

² *AJA* *op. cit.*

³ I wish to thank Prof. Dott. A. Pietrangeli of the Palazzo dei Conservatori for the photographs and permission to publish their vase. I am further indebted to Professor R. Bartoccini and Dott. Mario Moretti for the photographs and permission to study and publish the kylikes in the Museo di Villa Giulia, the Museo Nazionale in Tarquinia, and the Magazzino at Cerveteri. Dott. G. Ricci reports in *Mon. Ant.* XLII (1955), p. 933, no. 37: "Kylix simile al no. 35 (our kylix, pl. 1, fig. 3). Pittura trascurata e grossolana. Manca di parti." According to this description, the kylix, discovered in the same tomb (Tomb 407, Necropoli della Banditaccia) as our kylix, may very well be by the same painter or at least closely related to him; however, I have not been able to locate the vase.

Each kylix displays similar jewelry: an earring formed of a roundel with a horizontal bar from which hangs a vertical suspension, and a necklace of the beaded variety (double strand on the Villa Giulia kylix, on which a second row of beads—in white—is placed above the usual black beads), shown high on the neck. Only minor differences exist in the decoration (embroidery) of the sakkos; they amount to a rearrangement of the motifs found on one or the other sakkos,—drawn from the standard repertory of Caeretan full-sakkos ornamentation. The only notable difference in the sakkos-decoration is the more definite “saw-tooth” pattern on the Villa Giulia cup, which is hastily executed, but nevertheless suggested at the forehead, in the Conservatori cup. The decorative details in added white which are still preserved on the Villa Giulia kylix may also have been originally present on the Conservatori cup, even though I have been unable to detect any traces. Consequently, the former vase presents a much richer and more elaborate aspect than the latter. The decorative band which sets off the medallion from the blacked out interior of the bowl is basically the same for both examples: a series of chevrons running in a clockwise direction; white dots have been added to the Villa Giulia specimen. Likewise, the exterior decoration is similar (Pl. I, fig. 2): a horizontally placed laurel or olive spray punctuated with dots (olives?) in the upper zone; the lower zone, including the stem, is painted black. This exterior decoration recalls that found on the kylix modelled in relief on a pilaster in the “Tomba dei Rilievi” at Cerveteri (Pl. I, fig. 4),⁴ a tomb which has been dated from the fourth to the third century B.C. by various scholars.⁵ As for the kylix depicted in the reliefs, R. Mengarelli⁶ believes it to be an “Etrusco-Campanian” type belonging to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C., and Beazley⁷ associates it with his “Fluid Group” of Later Etruscan Red-Figured Vases (fourth to third century B.C.).

Two very fragmentary kylikes which I have noted in the *magazzino* at Cerveteri, obviously by one painter, display a less elaborate full-sakkos than those found on the two specimens above.

3-4. Cerveteri, Magazzino, no inv. numbers (one of these: Pl. III, fig. 9).

Provenience, Caere.

The kylikes differ from each other only in the choice of decoration for the band which surrounds the medallion. On the illustrated kylix it is a meander interrupted by squares with a punctuated checker-pattern; on the other, an egg-and-dart pattern. The exterior of both bears a laurel or olive spray.

⁴ Strictly speaking, the laurel or olive spray on our kylikes (Pl. I, fig. 2), originating at the handles, meets at the center of each side, whereas on the kylix in the *Tomba dei Rilievi*, the spray runs uninterrupted in one direction on each side of the vase.

⁵ P. Ducati, *Storia dell'Arte Etrusca* (Florence, 1927) p. 395: ca. the middle of the fourth century B.C.; G. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* (Milano, 1935), p. 64: third century B.C.; M. Palottino, “La Necropoli di Cerveteri,” *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*, vol. II (*Enc. Italiana*, 1959), p. 519: beginning of the fourth century B.C.

⁶ R. Mengarelli, “Caere e le recenti scoperte,” *St. Etr.* I (1927), p. 156.

⁷ J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, Oxford 1947, p. 160.

The rendering of the hair in scallops at the forehead, which then gather in front of the ear *without* falling into a long wavy tress, is unusual for Caeretan coiffure and recalls, rather, the Campanian fashion.

FALISCAN.

1. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia, inv. no. 7882 (Pl. II, figs. 5 and 6) Provenience, Falerii.
Height 8.0 cms.; diameter of bowl, 19.5 cms.
Concentric circles are painted under the foot.
2. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia, inv. no. 7883 (Pl. II, figs. 7 and 8) Provenience, Falerii.
Height, 7.2 cms.; diameter of bowl, 20 cms.
Concentric circles are painted under the bowl.

These two kylikes, although I do not believe them to be by one hand, are certainly the products of a single workshop. Added white is used, on no. 7882, for details of the sakkos, the necklace, and for a fillet and floral spray in the field before the face; the latter feature is not found on no. 7883. The sakkoi differ only slightly in their decoration: no. 7882 is more simply treated at the forehead, and a row of dots appears at the crown for which a wavy line is substituted on no. 7883. In the figure of the former cup, the hair is more curly at the brow than that in the latter, where it becomes a broad wave; however, at the temple, the hair is gathered together in much the same fashion in both heads. A pyramidal pendant terminating with three pellets provides the earring type found on the two vases. As on the four Caeretan kylikes previously discussed, a reserved band at the upper part of the exterior carries a decorative element: cup no. 7882 (Pl. II, fig. 6) shows a continuous scroll pattern, punctuated with vertical dashes, while cup no. 7883 (Pl. II, fig. 8) has a series of "3's."

All six of the vases thus far mentioned are basically of the same shape, and their exterior decoration, although varied, is found in the equivalent upper portion on all specimens. To distinguish between the two fabrics, Caeretan and Faliscan, one need only examine briefly the decoration within the medallions of the kylikes. In earlier studies,⁸ I have illustrated the major differences between the two *full sakkos* types (visible in these kylikes) and demonstrated the preference for one particular type by one or the other fabric, which reflects the *environment* of Caere or Falerii. For the sake of clarity, I repeat a drawing giving, in generalized form, the two full-sakkos types (fig. *in text* 1). Although the Caeretan and Faliscan examples have an opening at the crown of the sakkos which permits a loose lock of hair to escape, it is in the decoration, or embroidery, of the sakkos that the specific fabric is disclosed. The form on *these* Caeretan vases, however, differs slightly from those found on the oinochoai of the Caeretan Torcop Group: on the kylikes the diadem ("comb-diadem"), which is painted in white on the Torcop vases, is absent altogether and is suggested in only the most meager fashion—by dashes or a "saw-tooth" pattern at the forehead.

⁸ See note no. 1: my articles in *St. Etr.* and *AJA*.

Nevertheless, the "band" which runs from the ear to the "top" of the sakkos, and that from the ear to the "back" of the sakkos, as well as the decorative elements scattered over the surface (crosses, dotted circles and triangles, etc.) are the same.⁹ The Faliscan full sakkos shows no deviation from type; it is divided into at least three parallel planes which follow the crown of the head, and is decorated with a series of small circles, dots, and straight or wavy lines.

All six of the kylikes, Caeretan and Faliscan, mentioned thus far share techniques,—or rather the *absence* of certain technical features: relief lines are not found, and there is no use of white for the flesh color in the female heads, a practice which is the rule on the oinochoai of the *Caeretan* Torcop Group and

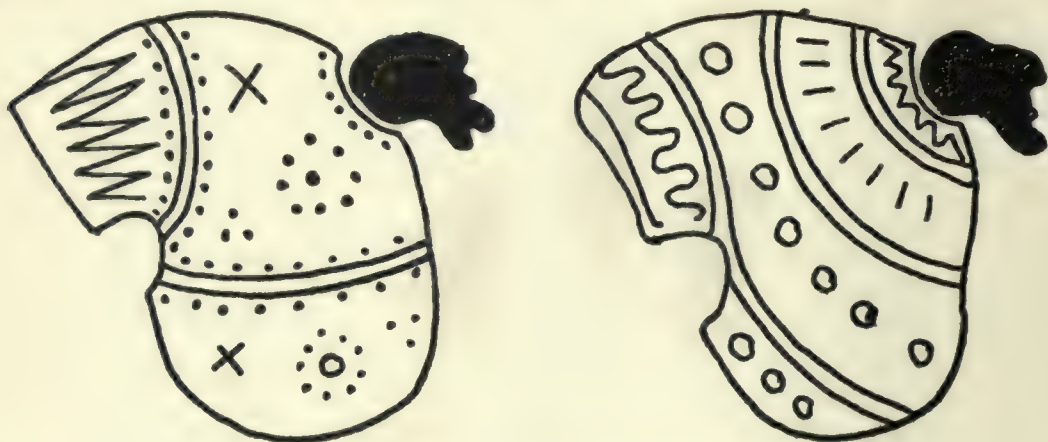


Fig. 1. — The Full-Sakkos Type Caeretan-Faliscan.

the *Faliscan* Barbarano Group,¹⁰ and the hydriae of both fabrics mentioned earlier in this paper. The omission of such a technical feature, perhaps to be regarded in this context as a sign of increasing "hastiness," clearly marks a step on the road to complete degeneration, a tendency already noticed in the late products (both Caeretan and Faliscan) of the *Genucilia Group*.¹¹ Furthermore, it may provide a useful clue for establishing the time of abandonment of various techniques of vase-painting, in addition to supplying a gauge or "measuring stick" for the rate of degeneration current at both centers.

One kylix in Tarquinia is best placed here apart from the foregoing vases because it *does* show the use of white paint for the flesh color in the female profile inside its medallion. This example, by analogy with the vases of the Torcop Group, and others, can be confidently assigned to a Caeretan workshop.

⁹ A small fragment of a kylix from the Palatine, called "Faliscan" by Mrs. I. S. Ryberg (*An Archaeological Record of Rome*, Philadelphia 1940, pl. 24, fig. 125 b), can now be identified as Caeretan.

¹⁰ See note no. 1: article in *St.Etr.*

¹¹ *Genucilia Group*, p. 320 f. and pl. 31 b, where I have attempted to show that the style of drawing of the face on the kylix has close parallels with the work of a specific Genucilia painter of the Caeretan Branch of the Group, namely the Ostia Genucilia Painter, *ibid.*, pl. 19 e.

5. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale inv. no. 977 (Pl. III, figs. 10 and 11) Provenience, Tarquinia.
Height, 7.5 cms.; diameter of bowl, 17 cms.
A wave pattern with dots is used for the exterior decoration

Owing to the repainting of the eye and eyebrow, I hesitate to attempt an attribution of the kylix to any of the recognized painters in the Torcop Group. This full sakkos definitely reflects and belongs to the Caeretan environment; the "comb-diadem" which has been omitted in the above described Caeretan kylikes is clearly visible on this specimen.

CAERETAN GENUCILIA KYLIKES.

While on the subject of Caeretan kylikes, I wish to republish a specimen which has been shown to be a direct product of a Genucilia Group workshop of the Caeretan branch, and which tentatively illustrated the extension of that Group's activity to ceramics other than Genucilia plates, together with another example which has come to my attention since the publication of the *Genucilia Group*.¹²

1. Berkeley, University of California Museum of Anthropology inv. no. 8/2301 (Pl. IV, figs. 12 and 13).
Genucilia Group, p. 319 f. and pl. 30.
Height, 8 cms.; diameter of bowl, 22 cms.
2. North Hollywood, California, Private Collection of Mr. Norman Neuerburg (Pl. IV, figs. 14 and 15).
Height, 7.4 cms.; diameter of bowl, 16.2 cms.

Typical of the Caeretan branch of the Genucilia Group are the female heads in profile with half-sakkos (net pattern) and "spiked-diadem." The wave pattern, which on the Genucilia plates runs round the rim of the plate, is found on the exterior of the kylix at approximately the same upper part of the vase where the subsidiary decoration occurs on the kylikes previously discussed. Similarly, the blacked out areas on the Genucilia kylikes agree with the scheme of the latter vases. A narrow reserved band sets off the medallion decoration from the blacked out interior portion of the Berkeley cup, whereas the Neuerburg kylix includes a band decorated with a series of chevrons running in a clockwise direction which recalls the first two Caeretan kylikes described above (Pl. I, figs. 1 and 3). Quite noticeably, these two Genucilia kylikes are *not* by one painter, and I have not succeeded in attributing either to any specific Genucilia artist.¹³ Suffice it simply to place them within the field of activity of the Caeretan Genucilia Group.

¹² I wish to thank Mr. Norman Neuerburg for photographs and for his kind permission to publish his vase in the present paper.

¹³ However, in *Genucilia Group*, p. 319, I have tried to demonstrate that the style of the kylix is close to the style of the Louvre Genucilia Painter, *ibid.*, pl. 19 c.

I have attempted to show in this paper that, in the mass of pottery loosely classed as Etruscan, an increasing number of specimens can be classified as either Caeretan or Faliscan. By applying the results of earlier studies, these kylikes can be assigned to the same chronological period, i.e., the second half of the fourth century B.C., perhaps falling within the third quarter of that century.

ADDENDA

The present manuscript had already undergone page-proof when I received two important photographs from the Louvre²⁴ which show two Caeretan kylikes that can be closely associated with the first two mentioned cups (Pl. I, figs. 1-3). The two Louvre vases: inv. no. 1101 (Pl. V, fig. 16) and inv. no. 1103 (Pl. V, fig. 17) are most certainly by a single hand, and may actually be products of the painter for the Caeretan kylikes illustrated in (Pl. I, figs. 1-3), or at least by a close follower. The sakkoi of the Louvre specimens are far more elaborated, particularly by the large "comb-diadem" painted in white. Although the jewelry—earrings and necklaces—are very much alike on the Louvre kylikes, they differ from that depicted on their "counterparts." Furthermore, the Louvre vases show details in the field before the face: "fillets," rosettes, and the like. One of the Louvre kylikes (no. 1101) follows form by using a series of chevrons in the decorative band which sets off the medallion, whereas the other kylix (no. 1103) displays an egg-and-dart pattern. I know nothing of their exterior decoration or dimensions, but believe that they would not differ greatly from that already known from their "counterparts."

²⁴ I wish to thank M. P. Devambez of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the Louvre for these photographs.

PLATES



Fig. 1. - Palazzo dei Conservatori.

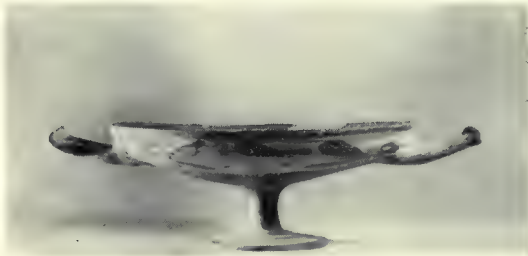


Fig. 2. - Palazzo dei Conservatori.



Fig. 3. - Villa Giulia



Fig. 4. - Tomba dei Rilievi.



Fig. 6. - Villa Giulia, no. 7882.



Fig. 8. - Villa Giulia, no. 7883.



Fig. 5. - Villa Giulia, no. 7882.



Fig. 7. - Villa Giulia, no. 7883.



Fig. 9. - Cerveteri, Magazzino.



Fig. 10. - Tarquinia.



Fig. 11. - Tarquinia.

PLATE IV



Fig. 12. - Berkeley.

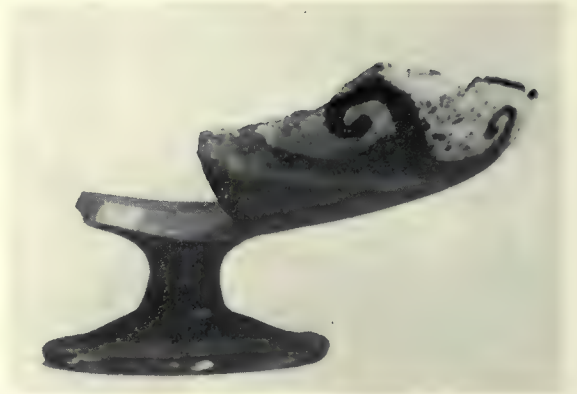


Fig. 13. - Berkeley.



Fig. 14. - Collection Neuerburg.

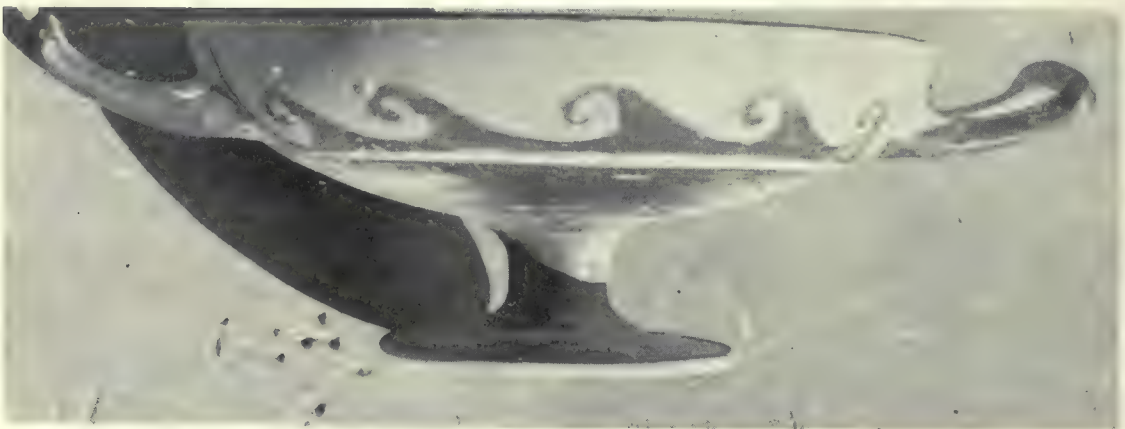


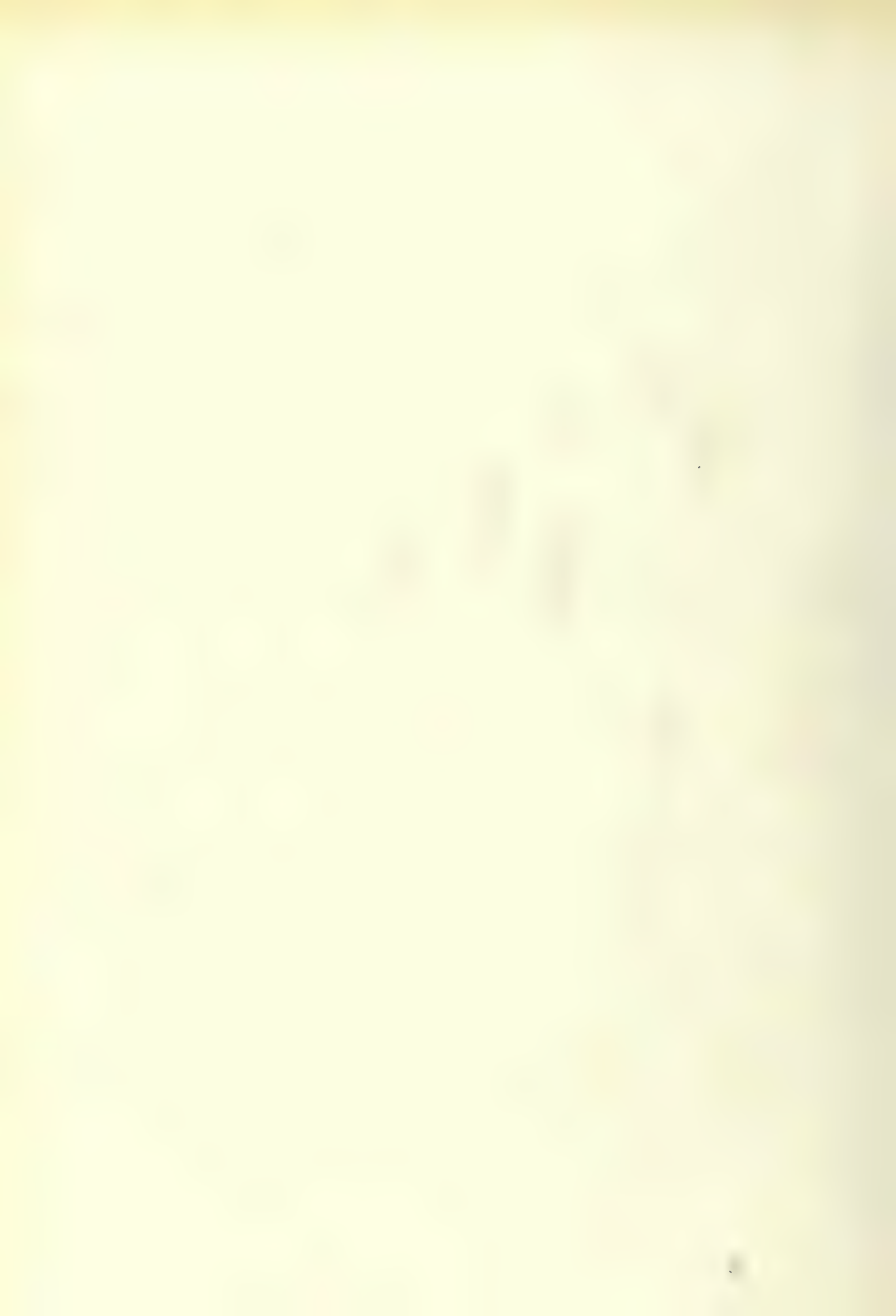
Fig. 15. - Collection Neuerburg.



Fig. 16. - Louvre, no. 1101.



Fig. 17. - Louvre, no. 1103.



THE ORIGINS OF THE *FRUMENTARII*

BY

WILLIAM G. SINNIGEN

THE ORIGINS OF THE *FRUMENTARII*

During the Principate one class of military bureaucrats, the *frumentarii*, was unusual.¹ Like other *officiales*, they were at the disposal of their respective provincial governors, on whom they ultimately depended for their orders and assignments and to whom they were administratively subordinate.² In two important ways, however, the *frumentarii* differed from other *officiales*. They could be called upon to perform a wide range of functions, and they had at the capital a special headquarters, the *castra peregrinorum*, to which they might be summoned by the central government for periods of service of varying duration.³ While thus detached for service at headquarters, they came under the direction of its commandant, the *princeps peregrinorum*, who was probably responsible to the praetorian prefecture. From this headquarters they were often sent on various missions throughout the empire in the service of the central government. On such missions they sometimes acted as a kind of imperial "secret service" or internal security police force. So essential did they seem to the central administration that, reorganized on a civilian basis in the fourth century and renamed, they continued to function throughout the Late Empire.⁴

¹ The literature on the *frumentarii* is extensive. For general surveys of their functions see Fiebiger, "Frumentarii," *RE* 7 (1910) 122-125, and Vaglieri, "Frumentarii," *DizEp* 3 (1922) 221-224. On their use in the central administration at Rome, P. K. Baillie Reynolds, "The Troops Quartered in the Castra Peregrinorum," *JRS* 13 (1923) 168-189 is basic. Most recently, see S. J. de Laet, "Les pouvoirs militaires des préfets du prétoire et leur développement progressif," *RBPhil* 25 (1946-47) 509-554, especially 533-536, who rightly calls attention to the relationship of the *frumentarii* to the praetorian prefecture. The best recent survey of the organization of Roman bureaucracy in the lower echelons is A. H. M. Jones, "The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-clerical Grades)," *JRS* 39 (1949) 38-55. Unfortunately, Jones does not include the *frumentarii* in his treatment of *officiales*.

² Von Domaszewski, *Rangordnung des roemischen Heeres* (1908) 34 f., thought that *frumentarii* were detached for service in provincial *officia* from their headquarters in Rome. This view was developed by E. Stein, *Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkoerper im roemischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat* (Vienna 1932) 85 f., with note 117, who thought that the *frumentarii* possibly resembled certain *principes officiorum ex agentibus in rebus* of the Late Empire, who were administratively responsible directly to the central government, not to their respective provincial governors. This view is unattested by the sources and seems unlikely. More probably the *frumentarii* were detached from their tactical units for service in provincial ministries like other *officiales* and normally remained within the local chain of command. For this view, see E. Ritterling, "Ein Amtsabzeichen der beneficiarii consularis im Museum zu Wiesbaden," *BonnJbb* 125 (1919) 25, note 3.

³ In addition to the *frumentarii*, the headquarters housed other legionaries on temporary duty in Rome, who, although citizens, were known collectively as *peregrini* to distinguish them from the permanent military organizations based in the capital. The basic study of the *castra peregrinorum* is T. Ashby and P. K. Baillie Reynolds, "The Castra Peregrinorum," *JRS* 13 (1923) 152-167. See also A. M. Colini, *Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichità* (*AttiPont Serie III, Mem.* 7) (1944) 240-245, who adds some new information on the site.

⁴ Their successors in the Late Empire were the *agentes in rebus*. See A. E. R. Boak, *The Master of the Offices in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires* (*University of Michigan Studies, Human-*

The earliest evidence for the existence of *frumentarii*, in both provincial and imperial service, appears in sources datable possibly during the reign of Trajan, certainly during that of Hadrian.⁵ Their camp in Rome and its commandant, the *princeps peregrinorum*, however, certainly existed at the beginning of Trajan's reign;⁶ and their existence must have predated the beginning of the second century, since they first appear in roles that belie their name and that are more characteristic of their developed rather than their embryonic functions.

As their name implies, they were originally, and probably throughout their history, connected with *frumentum*, grain, the staff of life throughout antiquity.⁷ Arguments have been advanced to link the *frumentarii* with the provisioning of Rome or of the imperial court.⁸ Such a connection existed, at least in the urban grain administration, but the surviving evidence indicates that they were so employed at a rather late date, perhaps no earlier than the reign of Septimius Severus.⁹ The basic functions of the *frumentarii* were more probably related to the military grain administration, the *annona militaris*,¹⁰ and their origin should be sought in their relationship, as *officiales*, to the grain administration as a part of the general military supply organization.

The Principate witnessed the development of a much more systematic military supply organization than had been known during the Republic, and there is some evidence for that development during the first century A.D.¹¹ Of special

istic Series 14: 1) (New York 1924) 68-74, and most recently, W. G. Sinnigen, "Two Branches of the Late Roman Secret Service," *AJP* 80 (1959) 238-254, who has related the *agentes* to another, similar organization, the imperial *notarii*.

⁵ A *frumentarius* appears as a courier in H. C. Youtie and J. G. Winter, *Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis (Michigan Papyri, 8)* (Ann Arbor 1951) 472. 16 (p. 41), a document dated in the period A.D. 100-125. This *frumentarius* was probably serving in the *officium* of the *praefectus Aegypti*, since he worked closely with a *speculator*, a grade commonly found in the employ of provincial ministries. Another appears (possibly in the service of the central administration) as a building supervisor at Delphi in the years A.D. 118-120 in *ILS* 9473 = Dittenberger *SIG*³ 830. *HA vita Had.* 11. 4, 6 reports that *frumentarii* were used as informers by Hadrian.

⁶ L. Poinsot and R. Lantier, "Q. Geminius Sabinus, Princeps Peregrinorum," *CRAI* (1923) 197-201 = *AE* (1923) 28 = Merlin, *Inscriptions Latines de la Tunisie*, 778 and 779.

⁷ The first commentator to suggest that the *frumentarii* distributed rather than received grain was Naudet, *CRAI* (1875) 144-151.

⁸ See R. Paribeni, "Dei milites frumentarii e dell'approvvigionamento della corte imperiale," *MdI RoemAb* 20 (1905) 310-320, whose argument rests essentially on the late and untrustworthy testimony of Lydus *De mag.* 3. 7. It has been rejected by Fiebiger, *RE* 7, 122, Rostovtzeff, "Frumentum," *RE* 7 (1910) 181, and Baillie Reynolds, *JRS* 13 (1923) 184.

⁹ See *CIL* 14, 7 and 125, which show that they functioned at Ostia, where they had a *statio*, at the latest during the reign of Severus Alexander, and which suggest that they administered the *annona civica*. An inscription recently discovered during excavation for Rome's new airport at Fiumicino shows that in A.D. 210 a *centurio frumentarius* was employed at Portus by a *praefectus annonae*. See G. Jacopi, *Giornale d'Italia* (August 5-6, 1959) 3.

¹⁰ See R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique* (Paris 1912) 320 f.; E. Stein, *Histoire du bas-empire* 1 (2nd. ed.; Paris 1959) 113 f.; De Laet, 534 f., 548, 550.

¹¹ The basic work on the *annona militaris* during the Principate remains D. van Berchem, "L'annone militaire dans l'empire romain au III^e siècle," *MAntFr* 10, Série 8 (1937) 117-202. Its emphasis is on the Severan period. For a survey of the rather scanty evidence concerning the army supply service during the early Principate, see 138-142. It may be suggested that the administration of

importance was the creation of the imperial *fuscus* which managed the military budget, of which expenditures for supply were a part. In the provinces the administration of supplies was the responsibility of provincial governors and procurators and, ultimately, of their *officia*. In addition, there is evidence to support the view that, towards the end of the first century A.D., the central government had developed a kind of "G-4 Section" for specific campaigns and theaters of operations.¹²

Evidence for a later period characterizes the *frumentarii* as couriers in constant movement, and it is natural to suppose that their use in this capacity during the second and third centuries derived from earlier travels in the supply service.¹³ It is probable that the supply service required such couriers at an early date. Whether in peace or war the logistical support of armies involved other than merely the garrisoned or frontier provinces. Supply lines even in peacetime could stretch back into fertile and distant hinterlands and were organized along both the rivers and roads of the empire, and considerable numbers of troops could be detached from home bases to organize the shipment of supplies from provinces half-a-continent distant.¹⁴

Modern commentators, while generally agreeing that the *frumentarii* were originally connected with the grain supply and that they were important agents during the Principate, have reached no certain conclusions regarding the date at which they were first used as *officiales* and as imperial agents. Disagreement is not altogether necessary, since it arises partly from untenable theories, supported by eminent authorities, that continue to receive an undeserved currency.¹⁵

the military supply system before A.D. 100 differed more in degree than in kind from that of the second and third centuries. For example, the confiscation of supplies was practised during the Flavian dynasty. See Pliny *Pan.* 29. As early as the reign of Trajan the government willingly permitted provincial magnates to pay for military supplies out of their own pockets to save their municipalities from possible financial embarrassment. In the same reign collection of the *annona militaris* was sometimes farmed out to *publicani*. See *IGRR* 3, 173 and J. Guey, "Inscription du second siècle relative à l'annone militaire," *MéLRom* 55 (1938) 56-77.

¹² Statius, *Silv.* 4, 9, 17-19, and the comments of H. G. Pflaum, "Essai sur le *cursus publicus* sous le haut-empire romain," *MémAcInscr* 14 (1940) 347 ff., 262 f. See below, note 63.

¹³ See for example *CIL* 3, 2063, the tombstone of a *frumentarius qui cucurrit ann. XL*. They were called, popularly, in Greek γραμματέφοροι and ἀγγελιαφόροι. See Dio 78. 14, 1; 39. 3.

¹⁴ The military supply lines for the Balkan garrisons, for example, stretched both into Asia Minor and Western Europe. See E. Gren, *Kleinasiens und der Ostbalkan in der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Upsala 1941) 138 ff. The records of an auxiliary cohort stationed behind the Lower Danube frontier indicate that men were detached from headquarters to procure clothing and possibly military grain in provinces as far distant as Gaul. See R. O. Fink, "Hunt's *Pridianum*: British Museum Papyrus 2851," *JRS* 48 (1958) 102-116, and the corrections and comments of R. Syme, "The Lower Danube under Trajan," *JRS* 49 (1959) 26-33. Syme would date the *pridianum* either during or shortly after the second Dacian War of Trajan.

¹⁵ The "foundation" of the *frumentarii* as a government agency has been attributed to Augustus, Trajan, or Hadrian by recent commentators. See de Laet, 534, note 1, where most of the secondary literature in support of these views is cited. The reigns of Nero and Galba were cited as *termini ante quem* for the existence of the *castra peregrinorum* by C. G. Starr, *Civilization and the Caesars* (Ithaca 1954) 158, and L. Homo, *Rome impériale et l'urbanisme dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1951) 162. M. Durry, *Les cohortes prétorienne*s (Paris 1938) 28, thought that the *frumentarii* first appeared in imperial administration at the end of the first century. He speculated on a possibly Domitianic date

There are two problems to be solved in dating the foundation of the *frumentarii*: the date of their first use by provincial *officia* and the date of their concentration in the *castra peregrinorum*, with their consequent direct employment by the central administration. There is no reason to assume that they were instituted locally throughout the empire and in the capital simultaneously. It might be supposed that their use first in the provincial bureaucracy revealed their potentialities and, therefore, that their use in the provinces preceded their organization in a special *numerus* at the service of the imperial *praetorium*. Although this was probably the case, there is no positive evidence to date the presence of *frumentarii* in provincial *officia* before A.D. 100.

For several reasons it is perhaps too much to expect literary sources to reflect their existence. The routine supply organization was rarely a matter to arrest the attention of observers interested in the more striking aspects of military life. Furthermore, it is unlikely that an observer of the period, mentioning the *officiales* of a governor functioning as supply agents, would have called them *frumentarii*. In strictly official parlance, all *officiales*, until the early second century, could be called indifferently *beneficiarii*, no matter what their function.¹⁶ When Pliny reported to Trajan that he had assigned ten extra *beneficiarii* to the *officium* of a procurator charged with buying grain, at least some of these may well have been soldiers who would have been called *frumentarii* at a later date.¹⁷

Epigraphy fails as utterly as the literary sources to provide positive evidence for the *frumentarii* in the first century, although commentators occasionally have attributed to this period inscriptions which would thus attest to their existence.¹⁸ They have done so with more confidence than justification.

for their debut without reaching any positive conclusions. Paribeni, 314, thought that the use of *frumentarii* as spies post-dated Hadrian. In spite of *AE* (1923) 28, the high authority of von Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* 104, note 1, who attributed to Hadrian the foundation of the *frumentarii* as a special corps in the imperial service, is still followed in the second edition of Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1957) 698, note 11, and by H. Mattingly, *Roman Imperial Civilization* (London 1957) 123.

¹⁶ See, for example, Tacitus *Hist.* 4.48, with the comments of von Domaszewski, 63, with note 8, and Jones, 44, with note 59. A different interpretation of this passage in Tacitus by E. Sander, "Zur Rangordnung des römischen Heeres: Die gradus ex caliga," *Historia* 3 (1954-55) 91, seems less satisfactory.

¹⁷ Pliny *Ep.* 10. 27, and Jones, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Joseph H. Drake, "The Principales of the Early Empire," *University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series* 1 (1904) 311, thought that the *frumentarius* of *CIL* 3, 3835, was probably pre-Trajanic. However, the reading of this inscription is uncertain, and Ritterling, "Legio" *RE* 12 (1925) 1758, rightly questioned it. Ritterling, "Amtsabzeichen" 28, dated *CIL* 3, 8201, a tombstone of a *frumentarius*, before A.D. 100. He did so possibly on the basis of the formula *h(ic) s(itius) e(st)*, which, in some provinces, is a good indication of a first century date. In Moesia, however, the formula can occur as late as the third century. See *Spomenik* 98 (1948) 435. Ritterling himself, "Legio," 1621, later refrained from giving the inscription any date. Of greater interest would be the date of *CIL* 8, 16553, which, according to Sander, 88, has certain characteristics of the first century. Unfortunately, the inscription reads . . . *nturio* . . . *entarius*, not *(ce)nfrumentarius*, as cited by Sander. R. Cagnat suggested [*ce*]nturio [*armam*]entarius as a possible restoration in the *CIL*, while in his *L'armée romaine d'afrique* 321, note 3, he read [*ce*]nturio [*frum*]entarius.

There are good reasons for believing that there may never be any such inscriptions datable much before the beginning of the second century.

These reasons have nothing to do with the possible existence of the *frumentarii*, however, and derive rather from a consideration of certain technical features of early Roman military rank. The *frumentarii*, as *officiales*, were non-commissioned officers in the second and third centuries, and, as such, they recorded their military grade on tombstones and monuments to indicate a definite step upward in their careers. Until the reign of Trajan or Hadrian, however, there were, strictly speaking, no non-commissioned grades in the Roman army beneath the centurionate, and the Roman military establishment recognized only the existence of privates.¹⁹ There were various specialized tactical and administrative duties which enlisted men were called upon to perform, including service in *officia*, but such duties were regarded simply as *munera*, functions of the grade of private soldier. They signified no promotion in rank. For this reason enlisted men rarely spelled out such duties on their monuments before the end of the first century. Nevertheless, privates of the period were both conscious of the distinction attached to such *munera* and anxious to express their tenure, but they did so plastically rather than literally on their tombstones; that is to say, early military inscriptions often presented the deceased soldier in relief with the attribute—a scroll, spear, or staff—of the *munus* he held when he died.²⁰ It is therefore unlikely that a private who had functioned as a *frumentarius* in the first century could have done more than request portrayal of the attribute of the *munus* he had performed. Several first century tombstones show soldiers with *hastae*,²¹ and these may represent *frumentarii*, since it is known that, at a later date, *frumentarii*, as well as other related *officiales*, carried the *hasta*, the symbol of imperial power which they represented.²²

There are, however, at least two scraps of evidence which predate A.D. 100 and which, although perhaps not attesting to *frumentarii* as *officiales*, may point to their prototypes. Tacitus, in describing the revolt of Civilis in A.D. 69, mentions that *frumentatores* were twice sent with escort for supplies from Castra Vetera to Novaesium, where there was probably a grain warehouse.²³ *Fru-mentator* and *frumentarius* can be synonymous in the sense of purveyor or collector of military grain.²⁴ It must remain undecided, however, whether these *frumentatores* were men chosen from the tactical ranks employed on the cam-

¹⁹ See Sander, *op. cit.*, which is essential for a proper understanding of the evolution of the NCO cadre in the imperial army.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 87 ff., 91 ff.

²¹ See, for example, Ritterling, "Amtsabzeichen," 28, for commentary on the relief of *CIL* 3, 14349, as well as the *Nachtrag*, 37.

²² See Ritterling, *ibid.*, 13 (comments on *CIL* 3, 5579), 23, and 28 (comments on *CIL* 3, 8201), who thought that the *hasta* symbolized service in the *officia*. A. Alfoeldi, "Hasta-Summa Imperii: The Spear as Embodiment of Sovereignty in Rome," *AJA* 63 (1959) 11 f., shows that it symbolized the power of the State.

²³ Tac. *Hist.* 4. 35. *Officiales* could accompany provincial governors in the field. See Ritterling, "Amtsabzeichen," 26.

²⁴ See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, "Frumentarius," B II.

paign and given the added *munus* or function of supply sergeants, or *officiales* detached from the provincial capital to accompany the army and to arrange for its supplies.

Of greater interest is the possible appearance of *frumentarii* on a duty roster of a legion stationed during the reign of Domitian at Nikopolis near Alexandria.²⁵ The roster records the detachment of soldiers from their headquarters for various kinds of duty outside the camp, including service in the provincial capital. The entry for one soldier reads: *exit cum frum...*, which the original editors of the document restored *cum frum[entariis]*. This conjectural restoration of a crucial word has won general acceptance by subsequent editors and commentators.²⁶ It may be that the soldier in question left the camp for service with *frumentarii* who were escorting the shipment of grain, via the Nile, from the country districts to Alexandria, since his absence from Nikopolis coincided with the season when such shipments took place.²⁷ It must remain in doubt whether the conjectured *frumentarii* whom he accompanied were enlisted men also in service in the camp, or whether they were in the service of the *officium* of the Prefect of Egypt.

More positive conclusions may be reached in dating the debut of the *frumentarii* in the central administration in Rome, as contrasted with their use in provincial *officia*. The foundation of the *castra peregrinorum* and the consequent employment of *frumentarii* as special imperial agents are today most commonly attributed either to Augustus or to Trajan. The former view derives ultimately from Mommsen, who connected the establishment of the standing imperial army in the provinces with the creation of the central military headquarters, the *praetorium*, at the capital.²⁸ According to Mommsen's argument, the *praetorium* would have required at the beginning of the imperial period a separate headquarters for legionary soldiers detached on temporary duty, like the *frumentarii*. Mommsen turned to the Acts of the Apostles for evidence to support an early date for the *castra peregrinorum* and the *frumentarii*.

The Acts relate that under Nero, Paul and other prisoners were brought to Rome by a centurion of "Augustus' band" (σπειρα Σεβαστή).²⁹ Accord-

²⁵ See J. Nicole and C. Morel, *Archives Militaires du 1^{er} siècle. Texte inédit du Papyrus Latin de Genève No. 1* (Geneva 1900), which is generally cited as *P. Gen. lat. 1* = R. Cavenaille, *Corpus Papyrorum Latinorum* (1957) 106, with bibliographical citations including previous editions of the document. The commentary of A. von Premerstein, "Die Buchführung einer aegyptischen Legionsabteilung," *Klio* 3 (1903) 1-46, is particularly important.

²⁶ *P. Gen. lat. 1 recto* II. D.7, dated in A.D. 82-3. Among those accepting the restoration are A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt (An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, 2)* (Baltimore 1936) 675, and H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (Cambridge 1958) 227. Of all the commentators on this passage, only H. Bluemner, "Aus den Akten eines römischen Militäerarchivs in Aegypten," *Neue Jahrbuecher fuer das klassische Altertum, Geschichte, und deutsche Literatur* 5 (1900) 437, suggests another restoration, *cum frum[ento]*.

²⁷ See J. Schwartz, "Le Nil et le ravitaillement de Rome," *BIFAO* 47 (1948) 185 and A. Bruckner and R. Marichal, *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores 1* (1954), in their edition of *P. Gen. lat. 1* No. 7, pp. 12 ff., with commentary on II.D.7, p. 13.

²⁸ Mommsen, "Zu Apostelgeschichte 28, 16." *Ges.Sch* 6, 548.

²⁹ *Acts* 27. 2.

ing to one tradition, the apostle was then turned over to the "captain of the guard" (στρατοπεδάρχης), after which he was kept in military custody and under house arrest in the city.³⁰ A Latin rendering of this tradition, dating from before the middle of the fourth century, interprets στρατοπεδάρχης as *princeps peregrinorum*.³¹ Mommsen thought that the more circumstantial Latin interpretation indicated the probable existence of the *castra peregrinorum* and the *frumentarii* during Nero's reign and that Paul had been escorted to Rome by a *centurio frumentarius*.³²

Embracing Mommsen's argument regarding the custody of the Apostle Paul, more recent commentators, using the archaeological evidence of the camp itself, have sought to confirm its use by the *frumentarii* at the very beginning of the Principate and its foundation by Augustus.³³ Unfortunately, the remains of the *castra peregrinorum* on the Caelian Hill were not excavated systematically when they were first uncovered at the beginning of this century, and the evidence found was not considerable. In his authoritative article on the subject, Baillie Reynolds showed that the *castra* underwent two periods of construction, the second of which did not predate the second century A.D.³⁴ In its original form the building complex which eventually housed the *frumentarii* probably dates from the first century, as the reticulate work found on site would indicate. However, what remained of the floor plan did not suggest that the structure was intended originally for occupancy by the military. It may have been a civilian housing complex remodeled and converted to military use.³⁵

Unfortunately for those who wish to see an early centralization of the *frumentarii* at Rome at the very beginning of the Principate, the above evidence, both literary and archaeological, proves little. The rendering of στρατοπεδάρχης by *princeps peregrinorum* in the Latin version of the cited passage in Acts is certainly of historical interest, but it is an interpretation rather than an exact translation of the Greek word. Its meaning is no less vague than the term σπεῖρα Σεβαστή, to which Paul's escort belonged.

The Latin interpretation need mean only that the translator chose a phrase that might have described accurately the procedure followed in handling prisoners in his own day, a phrase he would thus have been applying anachronistic-

³⁰ See the expanded "Western" text of Acts 28. 16 in A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford 1933) 169. There is a controversy as to whether the texts of the so-called uncial manuscripts of Acts, as represented by a *Codex Vaticanus*, or the expanded "Western" texts, including this passage with its mention of the στρατοπεδάρχης, have a greater claim to originality. The most commonly held opinion appears to be that of J. H. Ropes in his edition of the *Acts of the Apostles* (Jackson-Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, 3) (London 1926). Ropes, 253, rejects the expansion as having "no greater claim to acceptance as original than any other 'Western' periphrastic expansion."

³¹ Clark, 386; Ropes, cxxi.

³² Mommsen, *GesSch* 6, 546-554.

³³ Ashby-Reynolds, *JRS* 13, 159, 162, note 2; see also Colini, 243. This view is followed most recently by Lopuszanski, "La police romaine et les chrétiens," *AntCl* 20 (1951) 31 ff.

³⁴ Ashby-Reynolds, *ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.* 162.

ally to events that happened in the first century. Although it is quite possible that *frumentarii* escorted prisoners from the provinces to Rome during the Principate and that the *castra peregrinorum* was used as a prison, there is no direct evidence that such was the case. In the fourth century, albeit long after disbandment of the *frumentarii*, the government kept a barbarian king under house arrest in this camp on the Caelian.³⁶ The authorities of the Late Empire may in this case have been putting the *castra peregrinorum* to a traditional use. That this tradition extended back into the Julio-Claudian period and that the *frumentarii* were then organized at Rome to escort and detain political prisoners are both tenuous suppositions. The standard procedure followed in the first and early second centuries in remanding prisoners to Rome was to entrust them to the custody of the praetorian prefecture, and it seems likely that this happened to Paul.³⁷ Members of the praetorian guard could be detached on temporary duty in the provinces to carry out special missions of this nature,³⁸ and Paul's arrest and transportation by a centurion of "Augustus' band" was probably the work of a praetorian centurion.³⁹ If *στρατοπεδάρχης* has any specific meaning in the cited passage, it probably signified some higher official at the *praetorium*, possibly a tribune of one of the praetorian cohorts or perhaps a praetorian prefect.

From the slight archaeological evidence available it is not possible to conclude that the building complex later known as the *castra peregrinorum* was used for military purposes of any type at the very beginning of the Empire. An Augustan date for the centralization of the *frumentarii* or Nero's reign as a *terminus ante quem* for such a dating must be discarded.

The suggested connection of the *frumentarii* and their barracks with the imperial *praetorium* is most plausible, but there is no reason to conclude that their foundation was simultaneous. The *praetorium* and the military corps affiliated with it were to prove extremely flexible agencies, adaptable to the needs of centralization for almost three hundred and fifty years. Corps affiliated with the *praetorium* were created or disbanded according to need throughout the Principate. The question would then seem to be: Did the central government need the *frumentarii* at the beginning of the empire? *Argumenta ex silentio* are dangerous to use in dating institutions. Nevertheless, it could be assumed that the *frumentarii* do not appear in the literary sources describing events at Rome during the first century of the empire because they were not then in use

³⁶ Amm. Marc. 16. 12. 66.

³⁷ Lake-Cadbury in Jackson-Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 4, 345, note 16; T. R. S. Broughton, *ibid.*, 5, 444, note 2, and especially Durry, *Cohortes* 351 f.

³⁸ Durry, "Praefectus Praetorio," *RE* 22 (1954) 2414 and *Cohortes* 172 f., 351 f., See also Philo, *In Flaccum* 13 (ed. Box), for a praetorian centurion, Bassus, sent by Caligula to arrest Flaccus, Prefect of Egypt. *PIR*² "Bassus" 83.

³⁹ See most recently Mason Hammond, *The Antonine Monarchy* (Rome 1959) 177, with notes 66 and 67. Cichorius, "Cohors," *RE* 4, 248 f., suggested that the *σπεῖρα Σεβαστή* to which the centurion Julius belonged was an auxiliary *cohors Augusta* stationed in Syria, but it seems unlikely that an auxiliary soldier should have provided such an escort. See Reynolds *JRS* 13, 185 f., and Broughton, 443 f.

at the capital. It can be shown that other agencies were then performing the functions typical later of the *frumentarii*.

We have the excellent and detailed commentary by Tacitus, who was keenly aware of the secrecy and repression of which imperial government was capable. Had the *frumentarii* been functioning under the Julio-Claudians as they did later, in the second and third centuries, had they spied upon the friends of the emperor, ⁴⁰ been *noti caedibus senatoriis*, ⁴¹ or been commissioned to assassinate prominent generals in the provinces, ⁴² it may reasonably be supposed that Tacitus would have been interested in mentioning them. He does not do so. For Tacitus, the secret service agents *par excellence* of the early empire were the professional *delatores*; ⁴³ the praetorian guard, especially its tribunes, ⁴⁴ specialized in the "dirty work" of political assassination. There is not even a hint of the *frumentarii* at work in their neutral (and probably more customary) capacity as couriers. During the period recorded by Tacitus, *tabellarii*, ⁴⁵ *speculatores*, ⁴⁶ or praetorian guardsmen ⁴⁷ seem to have been customarily at the disposal of the central government for courier duty.

Only in one passage may Tacitus possibly mean to allude to the use of *frumentarii*, as secret service agents. He describes the surveillance over potential subversives at the capital by soldiers used as spies in plain clothes by Otho in A.D. 69. ⁴⁸ The Romans were familiar with the use of the military as agents provocateurs in disguise, ⁴⁹ and it seems reasonable to believe that *frumentarii*, on occasion, should have worn "mufti." ⁵⁰ Yet the *frumentarii* were not the only soldiers who could wear civilian dress while on duty, ⁵¹ and it is more likely that Otho was using praetorian guardsmen as spies. The conclusion seems unavoidable, that, before the Flavian dynasty, other organizations at the capital assumed what later were to become typical functions of the *frumentarii*, whose use was as yet unknown to the central administration.

Two inscriptions securely date the existence of the *castra peregrinorum*, and by implication, the *frumentarii*, at about A.D. 100. ⁵² An evaluation of this evidence requires a brief discussion of Trajan's activity during the first

⁴⁰ *HA vita Had.* II. 4, 6.

⁴¹ *HA vita Jul.* 5. 8 records one Aquilius of such repute, the same person as the *centurio frumentarius* of *CIL* 10, 6657.

⁴² Herodian 3. 5. 4.

⁴³ In particular during the reign of Tiberius. See the *Annals*, *passim*.

⁴⁴ *Tac. Ann.* I. 6. 1, 3; II. 37. 4; 15. 60. 3.

⁴⁵ On these, see the evidence collected and interpreted by H. G. Pflaum, *Cursus publicus*, 316-326.

⁴⁶ *Tac. Hist.* 2. 73; *Suet. Cal.* 44. 2.

⁴⁷ Plutarch, *Galba* 8.

⁴⁸ *Tac. Hist.* I. 85.

⁴⁹ Epictetus *Diss.* 4. 13. 5.

⁵⁰ As possibly in Dio 78. 39. 2 f. and Herodian 5. 4. 7-8, 11. Whether they wore plain clothes regularly while on courier duty, as suggested by Reynolds, *JRS* 13, 183, remains very doubtful.

⁵¹ Ordinary legionaries could as well. See *Pap. Gen. Lat.*, I, *recto* V. xiv. 4 = *CPL* 106. See also Pliny *ep.* 7. 25. 6.

⁵² *AE* (1923) 28. See above, note 6.

years of his reign.⁵³ Trajan, who had been Legate of Upper Germany, succeeded Nerva in January 98. The new emperor did not proceed directly from the frontier area to the capital but, instead, toured the strategic middle Danube provinces, partly to inform himself of the loyalty of the local commanders, partly perhaps to begin preparations for his Dacian War. While in Pannonia, he decorated one Q. Geminius Sabinus, *primus pilus* of *legio I adiutrix* for valor shown the previous year in a campaign against the Suebi undertaken when Nerva was still emperor.⁵⁴ Sabinus was already an experienced veteran, whose career, which probably stretched back to Vespasian's reign, had been crowned with a series of centurionships in legions stationed in virtually every part of the empire. Trajan returned to Rome towards the middle of 99 after wintering on the Danube, only to leave the capital again for the first Dacian campaign in 101. At some time before 102, the centurion Sabinus had been transferred from his post in Pannonia to Rome, where he was given the appointment of *princeps peregrinorum*.⁵⁵

The appointment of Sabinus to this post, in itself no more than a *terminus ante quem* for dating the *castra peregrinorum*, has occasionally been interpreted, in connection with a passage in a late epitomizer, to prove that Trajan centralized the *frumentarii*. The epitomizer, Sextus Aurelius Victor, states that Trajan made intense use of the state postal network for purposes of communication,⁵⁶ and the passage has been regarded as an allusion to the debut of the *frumentarii* in their basic function as imperial couriers.⁵⁷

It would follow logically that if Trajan founded the *castra peregrinorum* and centralized the *frumentarii*, then Sabinus must have been the first, or at least one of the very first centurions to be *princeps peregrinorum*. Such an important reform, whose potential significance for the centralization of the government cannot have been overlooked even at the beginning, would presuppose the presence in Rome of an emperor, newly arrived at the purple, to direct its execution. If Trajan founded the *castra peregrinorum*, he must have done so in the years A.D. 99–101, during his brief initial sojourn as emperor at the capital. On the basis of the evidence indicated above, there is no reason to believe that this was the case.

The dangers inherent in dating any institution by relating the allusions of late epitomizers to inscriptions have recently been shown in connection with the foundation of the *praefectura vehiculorum*.⁵⁸ The evidence adduced for a

⁵³ See R. Syme, *Tacitus* 1 (Oxford 1958) 17 f.

⁵⁴ See Poinssot-Lantier, *CRAI* (1923) 199.

⁵⁵ Trajan took the honorary surname Dacicus in 102. The inscriptions predate that year, since they give him only the surname Germanicus. Before 102, but after being *princeps peregrinorum*, Sabinus held one other post, that of *praefectus legionis X Fretensis*. Accordingly, his tenure as *princeps peregrinorum* may well have been closer to the beginning of Trajan's reign than to 102.

⁵⁶ *De caes.* 13. 5. 6.

⁵⁷ See, for example, de Laet 534, note 1.

⁵⁸ See E. Frézouls. "Inscription de Cyrthus relative à Q. Marcus Turbo," *Syria* 30 (1953) 247 f. = *AE* (1955) 225. Before the discovery of this inscription, it was commonly held on the basis of *CIL* 6, 1598 and 14, 5347 (both from the reign of Antoninus Pius) and of *CIL* 10, 6976 (post-

Trajanic foundation of the *castra peregrinorum* is of a similar nature and must be interpreted accordingly.

There is no independent evidence of any value that can be used with the Sabinus inscriptions to date the centralization of the *frumentarii*. The allusion in Victor is too vague to be so used.⁵⁹ It need mean no more than that Trajan used the *cursus publicus* more intensively than previous emperors for purposes of receiving and despatching messages. It may refer to the more scientific organization which that emperor gave the state post when he founded the *praefectura vehiculorum* at some time during the first decade of his reign. Trajan, interested in efficiency and centralization, may well have used *frumentarii* to a degree which impressed his contemporaries,⁶⁰ and any major reorganization of the *cursus publicus*, such as he instituted, presumably would have affected their use as couriers. However, as close as the connection of the *frumentarii* was to the *cursus publicus*, there seems no reason to base their debut as imperial couriers on the institution of the *praefectura vehiculorum*.

There would seem to be better reasons for relating the centralization of the *frumentarii* in Rome to major changes in both the supply organization and the communications network, changes which are datable under the reign of Domitian. Domitian was no less interested in centralization than Trajan and was himself an efficient administrator.⁶¹ That he, too, was impressed by the potentialities of the *cursus publicus* as a means of communication and centralization is shown by the fact that he was the first to give the postal system a special administration of its own by founding the office *ab vehiculis*, headed by freedmen.⁶² Of even greater interest is his organization of the military supply services for specific campaigns and the close connection he made between that supply system and the road network and the gendarmerie that guarded it. Domitian was apparently the first emperor to organize a "G-4 Section" for the army.⁶³

Granted the basic connection of the *frumentarii* with the *annona militaris* and their employment both as police agents and as messengers, there is no more likely time for their centralization in Rome than the period when the imperial government first centralized its military supply system. Such an organization would

dating A.D. 134), besides *HA vita Had.* 7. 5, that Hadrian was the founder of the *praefectura vehiculorum*.

⁵⁹ Frézouls, 270, calls the passage "vague et peu clair."

⁶⁰ Although by no means were they the only couriers in use. Pliny's letters show that *tabellarii* were still frequently employed.

⁶¹ See R. Syme, "The Imperial Finances under Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan," *JRS* 20 (1930) 55-70.

⁶² See Frézouls, 272.

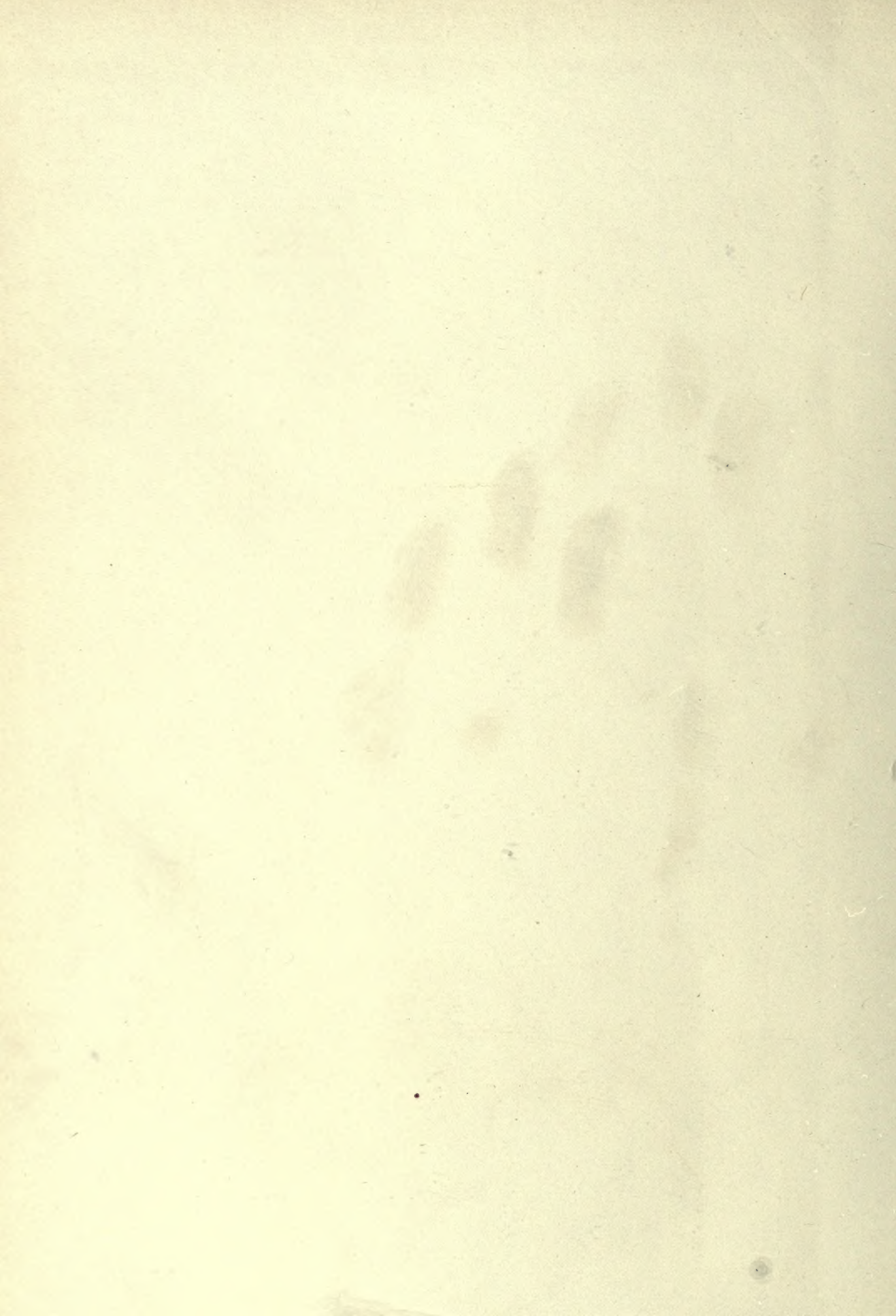
⁶³ See Statius, *Silv.* 4. 7. 19, who gives the young senator Plotius Grypus the following title: *arbiter sequenti annonae datus omniumque late praefectus stationibus viarum*. The passage refers to Domitian's second Dacian campaign. See Pflaum, *Cursus publicus*, 262 f., 347 f. Beginning with Domitian's reign, some fourteen officers of high rank, charged with the organization of military supplies and frequently connected with the *cursus publicus*, are known in the second and third centuries. H. G. Pflaum, "Deux carrières équestres de Lambèse et de Zama," *Libyca* 3 (1955) 142 f., has collected the evidence.

have required close liaison between ministries in the capital and legions or provincial *officia*, a liaison which *frumentarii* were eminently qualified to undertake.⁶⁴ The development of these *officiales* as couriers of a general nature, as the executors of imperial will in many ways outside the supply service, and their suitability for espionage, cannot long have escaped the attention of an autocratic and efficient ruler.⁶⁵

To sum up: it seems probable that *frumentarii* were employed in provincial *officia* during the first century of the empire, although there is no positive evidence to attest their existence. Their centralization in Rome and their use in imperial administration, positively datable in Trajan's reign, probably began at a slightly earlier period in connection with the major changes in the army supply service made by Domitian.

⁶⁴ De Laet, 548, would place the *frumentarii* in liaison with the *rationalis*, since the latter administered the military budget.

⁶⁵ Durry, *cohortes* 28, is the only commentator to speculate on a possibly Domitianic origin of the *frumentarii* in the imperial service. The evidence which Durry cites, Pliny *Pan.* 18. 5, may refer to *frumentarii* as spies during the reign of terror which preceded Domitian's assassination.



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